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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

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print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

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We are sitting here on the steps of one of one of our houses — a very green day outside, humid, and the birds are flying low.

We have an issue this time full of war — real wars being fought now on this Western Hemisphere of ours and wars that more than being imaginary, defy the imagination.

Many peoples of the world seem to be awakening to the terror of nuclear holocaust, the one that would signify our end as a species. Many people are also mobilizing themselves and this summer promises the growth of a significant world-wide peace movement.

Native Peoples, of course, are part of this movement, and their struggles and traditions are intimately represented in it. From Micronesia to the Nevada lands of the Western Shoshones, their call is for peace, justice, and for a deep understanding of our role as human beings within the Creation.

It is a good message — and now, watching some of our children play by the edge of the trees — one that makes immediate sense. What parent doesn't want a world of peace for their children?

But we would remind all those demanding disarmament that the quest for peace is futile unless it is married to the demand for justice in the world and to the recognition of all races and cultures of people. The sad reality that we are forced to contemplate is that for many peoples of the world the holocaust, in the form of massacres with conventional weapons, has already begun, and that it is the same demented military people that will push the nuclear button who now pull the machine gun triggers.

Now a wind has come up. Our kids are walking toward us. In the distance two small dogs bark at each other and in the sky a lone black bird flies a direct line south.

The thought arises that the peoples in the World Movement for Peace must sometime become like that solitary bird, flying above the barking of the dogs, and looking to the perfect circle of the Earth for their direction.

This is what we want to say in the early summer issue. This is how it is with us.

On our cover: A peaceful moment in a Yanomami village.

NOTES PEOPLE

Beverly, Carol, Saka, Katsi, Charlene, Ray, Forrest, Jose, Mary, Tsiorasa, Rosennes, Angie, Roseann, Diane, John, Chaske, Tonronwe, Debbie, Hawie, Karoniahawi, Ray C.

NATION PROJECTS



In the course of Nation re-building at Akwesasne, a number of projects have emerged from the people. The following are lists of needs that we have gathered and want to pass along to our readers. All these low-budget projects work cooperatively, and are manned by volunteers who labor at Mohawk Nation subsistence wages in the hopes that our next generation will inherit a more sovereign and self-sufficient community. More detailed information about any of them can be obtained by writing to: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, Via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

Mohawks Agree On Safe Health (M.A.S.H.): environmental researchers, blank file folders, information on water-distillation systems and on legal cases impacting communities affected by chemical contamination;

Akwesasne Freedom Radio: 2 tape-editing machines, 2 reel-to-reel tape players, 2 cassette decks, two turntables;

Akwesasne Birthing Crew: Old sheets and bedding, oto-opthalmoscopes, blood pressure cuffs, film-35MM, carousel slide projector and carousel, basal body thermometers, comfrey roots, plants, infant clothing, relieving blankets.

AKWESASNE NOTES: Felt markers, pens (red and black), 3 x 5" business cards, scissors, staplers, canon copier paper, 35 MM B&W film, information on crafts fairs, Pow-wows and other gatherings this summer in the North-east Region;

Akwesasne Emergency Team: All types of ambulance emergency equipment, first aid bandages, materials on medical training programs, community health, C-B Radio equipment;

Akwesasne Freedom School: portable typewriters, 16mm sound projectors, information on appropriate technology projects and a Marquee Tent for fund-raising.

Emergency Response International Network (E.R.I.N.): cassette tape recorders, typewriters, information on telex and movement telex hook-ups for rapid information-dissemination, volunteer lay-out artist for poster series.

Tax-deductible donations can be accepted by all of the above-projects.

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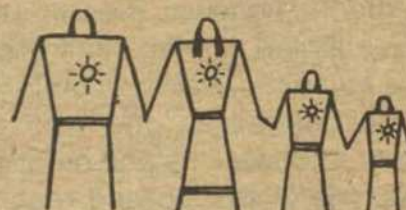


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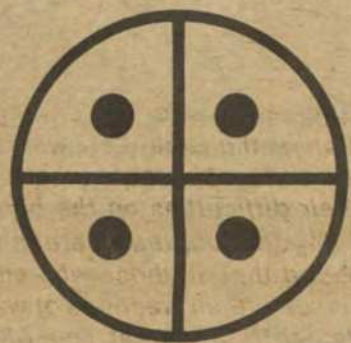
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A Message & Invitation From The Hopi To The World Spiritual Leaders



My name is Thomas Banyacya. I am an interpreter for the Hopi high religious leaders and the Kikmongwis, the recognized Hopi authorities who have been initiated into the high religious orders within our society. Since I was first called upon in 1948 by our spiritual leaders, I have served as one who communicates their messages in a faithful way. I stand before you today to share with you a message from Hopiland regarding the Hopi call for universal peace through spiritual unity. I would like to thank you for inviting me here today on the eve of your "World Peace March"

Our prophecies foretold of the day when young people from this country would move from a western direction seeking to stop the development of elements aimed at destroying all living. Today people from this country, and from countries all around the world, are coming together in this walk for peace bringing further realization of the Hopi prophecies.

When the Hopi found out about the nuclear bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima they recalled the Hopi Prophecy that spoke of a small but devastating gourd of ashes. It was said that this gourd, if allowed to fall to the ground would bring devastating destruction, burning everything around it. Living things under the water would also be destroyed from the heat. Many sicknesses would arise which our medicines would not be able to cure. We were told never to go beyond this step, never to allow the manufacture of other such destructive things. We now know that these foreseen destructive forces were nuclear weapons. We were told that if we were to continue on this path even greater destruction would follow. Wars can no longer be conducted as a way to reach peace. Peace can only be brought about through spiritual ways, through kindness, understanding, gentleness and love. Only through these

spiritual ways can we put aside the wrong action of the past and repair the damage done to our Mother Earth and the peoples of the Earth. It is time for all people to join, actively working to stop the development of war and the use of nuclear forces.

United Nations officials and members of all world governments who are responsible for the safety and well-being of their nations must fulfill their responsibilities and bring to a halt the use of destructive nuclear forces. Warning must be given, for the Hopi Prophecy says that if these destructive actions are not stopped other forces will arise to purify the land. Maybe natural forces, earthquakes, droughts, storms or floods will occur warning us that we must stop these wrong actions and seek peace through spiritual means. What is happening at Big Mountain today is a warning. If these sacred lands are disrupted and the Navajos driven off the land this will signal the "longest walk to death" for the Navajo and Hopi peoples. If this sacred land is abused and ripped apart by mineral exploitation and other destructive activities this in the long run will also signal the "longest walk to death" for all peoples of the world.

The Hopi elders and religious people who know these prophecies are very happy to see another march across the country, just as the Native peoples walked across the country. Your march calls out the cry and draws the world's attention to the need for spiritual, peaceful solutions to existing problems. We hope that soon spiritual leaders from all over the world will meet in Hopiland to look at the problems of the world with a spiritual eye and to work towards peaceful solutions. Hopiland, and the Four Corners Region in general is a sacred area which should be protected by all nations. In the time of the purification, the weeding-out time, this land will serve as a refuge for

people of peace. It is a sacred area, marked by shrines and protected by spiritual leaders through daily ceremonies and prayers. We invite all the World's spiritual leaders to a meeting in this sacred area.

Again today we are faced with draft of young men, the call for men to register for war. We should not register for war, but instead register for peace. All over the world we should register for peace in order to bring about peace.

During my life I was given the spiritual instructions and ancient knowledge of this land. I heard the warnings from our elders not to stir-up trouble in other lands. Those who send their forces to war and make trouble in another country, it is said, will themselves suffer double the destruction they have brought upon others. Firmly believing these teachings I did not register for the Second World War and instead spent six or

seven years in and out of prison because of my stand for peace. Other Hopi were at my side. The Hopi have said in the past, and continue to say that it will be only through peaceful spiritual ways, through true brother and sisterhood, that life will be restored and all living things brought to live in harmony once again. But the ancient Hopi teachings speak of a purification, a weeding-out, a cleaning process for the land and the people. It is the hope and prayer of the Hopi people that this cleaning process, this purification will not bring too much destruction upon these lands and nations.

(Address to the Nipponzan Myohoji Japanese Buddhist Monks, Los Angeles, CA. 23 Oct. 1981, Eve of the World Peace March)

-Sarvodaya Monthly, Vol 21-12, 1981

Words of Peace — A Six Nations Tradition

When a long time ago the Indian peoples of North America found themselves in a period of extended unrest, including blood-feuds and warfare, there arose among them a man one could call a combination of political philosopher and spiritual leader whom, though his name is not to be pronounced anymore, has the name of the Peacemaker. The Peacemaker taught the Iroquois Peoples some interesting theories that might be useful to express to people today — especially those individuals and groups that are seeking solutions to the very grave problems posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The existence of the Peacemaker is a historical as well as a spiritual reality for the Haudenosaunee Peoples and it is probably at the same time the least well-known and the most vibrant quest for peace in the history of humanity.

There have been several different extended periods of peace in world history — including such ones as the Pax Romana and the Pax Azteca. Some are better known than others. In the Northeast region of North America for several hundred years the thoughts and work of the Peacemaker created the conditions for what can be called the Pax Iroquoia, which spread a system of alliances over nearly a third of the territory which is currently known as the United States of America. This Pax Iroquoia was a unique quest for peace — one that articulated the belief that true peace in the world is not simply the absence of war — but is rather defined in the understanding of the human beings' relationship to the Great Universal Mind.

The Peacemaker spoke of a kind of peace that would be possible in this world as a result of a kind of divine inspiration. He said that there was a spirit that created life in the world — and that by the manifestations of the Life one could see that the plan for that Life was perfection itself — that everything that humans needed to exist and to be happy and to prosper was placed in the world — plant life, animals, water, air — everything humans needed to survive.

Thus the Peacemaker also expressed our need to understand that the Plan for Life has an origin — an origin which can be called a Universal Intelligence, and which is a state of perfection, and whose will requires that humans in society manifest a desire for Life — as opposed to simply a desire for a lack of conflict.

The Peacemaker perceived that it was this ability of the human mind to understand the relationship of human society to this Plan for Life upon which could be built a lasting peace.

The Peacemaker also said that this superior intelligence, which he called The Master of Life, and which other people will call God, is perfect — and this perfection calls for humans to live in peace. But this manifestation of the perfect Peace and this desire for Life could only come about if human societies could eliminate social injustice in the world. He said that any injustice that existed in the world would be a danger or an insult to this perfect mind and he urged that human societies establish a peace based on the highest possible principles of justice. He tried to eliminate the concepts of cultural and racial antagonisms and also the conflicts that arose out of the unjust distribution of the natural wealth of the world.

The Peacemaker symbolized these principles of peace with the planting of the Great Tree of Peace, saying that those peoples who had grasped these principles could come and seek shelter under the leaves of this Great Tree by following what he called the Great White Roots of Peace. The Great White Roots of Peace were these pure thoughts that attracted peoples to the shade of this powerful protection, which was to be this great and all-encompassing law of nations — which demanded from all that sat under this shade that they eliminate the custom of having borders, and also the concept of one nation being able to dominate another nation through religion, or on the basis of the language that they spoke, or any other self-perceived superiority.



All peoples who would come under the protection of the Great Law would be enlightened to the philosophy that humans could resolve all of their difficulties on the basis of discussion and negotiation, that there is no need for warfare, and that all those who embraced the Law would cast their weapons of war into a hole dug underneath this Great Tree of Peace..

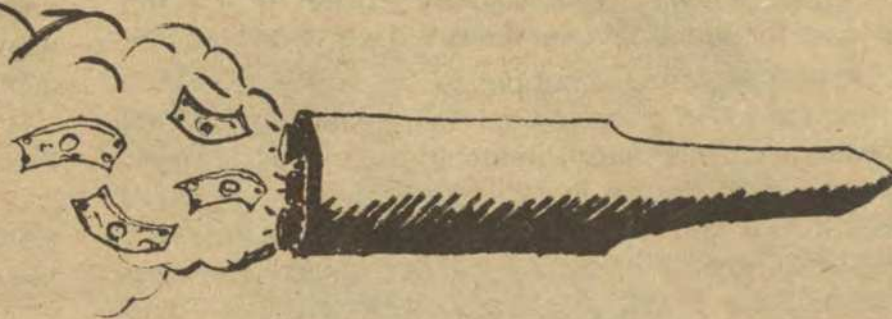
The Peacemaker pointed out that wars are fought over what we recognize today as territorial conflicts — over greed among nations, over cultural antagonisms (racism) and over the unfair distribution of wealth. In the Great Law of Peace, which is the underlying basis of the Iroquois Confederacy, he created a system that for many centuries was capable of maintaining peace in this part of the world.

The formulation of this Great Law took place a long time ago, but it appears to us just as applicable today. They understood then too that people had the ability to exterminate life on this planet and that it was precisely the misunderstanding of the humans' relationship to the Master's Plan for Life that would create the destructive condition. It was a very religious way of looking at life, and it was the active engagement of a people trying to strive for a perfect world, a perfect justice, beginning with the idea that it was our Creator's will that all people be treated equally and with the full understanding that the physical universe was also a manifestation of the Creator's will and could not be owned by anyone or claimed as territory. It required that Life itself be central to religion and the Plan of the Master of Life was looked upon as an intelligence in itself, something to be preserved. This is what the old people taught us.

--Sotsisowah

US: NUMBER ONE

IN THE WAR BUSINESS



We feel confident to state as a truth that all traditional Native Peoples in North America would endorse the position that the continued survival of all life on this planet necessitates a process of immediate and total nuclear disarmament.

Throughout Indian country in North America, the elders and chiefs of the Native traditional governments have consistently called for a just and active peace among the Nations of the world. The most ancient messages of the Natural World Peoples are fully in agreement in their warning to humanity about the dangers of arrogance, superiority and greed.

Among the traditional Native Peoples, the pursuit of peace is an active endeavor, requiring motion and dynamic force. The peoples of the world must move on this issue, even aggressively, for the magnitude of the danger to be overcome is immense. The power of reason must be endorsed, must prevail, and the search must be continuous for the just and peaceful minds everywhere.

There are several countries now which have the capacity for nuclear war. The efforts of their related industries, research and bomb tests extend to many regions of the world.

In each place, the people of that place must actively work for peace. In each country where the nuclear capacity is found, those people must demand from their governments, from their military personnel, from themselves that arrogance, superiority and greed be cast out and the power of reason must prevail.

In North America, the traditional Native Peoples find themselves surrounded by the power and might of the United States nuclear program in the whole cycle of its extensions. From the regions which confront the front end of that cycle — uranium mining and milling — to the areas where the weapons systems are finally deployed — Native peoples are affected. In other regions of the world, other Native Peoples are also affected.

The North American reflection of the nuclear problem begins in the United States, we call upon the United States government and military forces to throw out arrogance, superiority and greed and to embrace the power of reason in the quest for peace.

By mid-1980 the U.S. had 10,000 thermonuclear weapons available for use in an attack on the Soviet Union. In the next ten years, the U.S. plans to continue this build-up of weaponry which can only lead to a nuclear war. By involving its allies in Europe, the U.S. will

have the capability to cause 19,000 nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union by the year 1990.

The U.S. has led the nuclear arms race from the beginning. The U.S. leads in developing and producing new delivery systems and in the numbers of nuclear weapons from every aspect of warfare. Without exception, the U.S. is urging all its allies in Europe and Japan to increase preparations for nuclear war through the acquisition of more destructive weapons and the expenditure of large sums of money on defense. The weapons of war and all preparations for waging nuclear war are a continuing threat to the survival of all races of man on this planet. The weapons must be destroyed and the planning stopped if humankind is going to be around for the 21st century.

Currently, the U.S. nuclear arsenal is a triad of weapons based on land, sea and in the air. The land leg of this triad consists of 1,054 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) in underground silos. Over half are MIRV missiles (Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles) carrying three 170-kiloton warheads that can be aimed at separate targets (a kiloton is the equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT.) The rest carry single warheads up to ten megatons (ten million tons of TNT.) The air wing of the triad consists of over 350 B-52 intercontinental bombers capable of flying thousands of miles with their nuclear payloads. The B-52s have

been continuously modernized and, according to Air Force spokesmen, will last into the 1990s.

The sea leg is ten Polaris and 31 Poseidon submarines carrying a total of 656 sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The 16 SLBMs on each of the older Polaris submarines carry one megaton yield apiece. The newer Poseidon submarines carry 16 SLBMs, each with 10 separate, individually-targeted warheads with a yield of 40 kilotons each. Thus one Poseidon submarine today could destroy 160 cities with bombs more than twice as powerful as the one that hit Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The U.S. also has at least 15,000 short-range or "tactical" nuclear weapons. Most of them are more powerful than the Hiroshima weapon.

The next generation of nuclear weapons currently envisioned by U.S. military planners; among them the Trident submarine, pilotless drone cruise missiles and the MX missile, along with improvements in guidance systems, warhead and reentry vehicles, represents a decision by the U.S. to initiate a first strike capability with regard to the nuclear forces of the Soviet Union.

The manufacture of nuclear weapons for the various U.S. delivery systems is handled by the Department of Energy. Under current Pentagon plans, in the 1980s, the DOE will manufacture at least 17,000 nuclear weapons for Department of Defense weapons systems as follows:

Number of Nuclear Weapons

Delivery System

2,000

200 MX missiles, 10 weapons each

3,500

Air-launched cruise missiles

4,224

528 Trident I missiles with up to 8 weapons each

900

Mark 12A weapons for 300 Minuteman III ICBMs

650

Ground-launched cruise missiles

108

Pershing II missiles to replace Pershing Ia missiles in Germany

500

New weapons for 92 Lance missile launchers in Europe and two additional battalions based in US

3,000

Replacement nuclear artillery shells for 155 mm and 8" cannon in Europe

1,000

New tactical and strategic air-dropped bombs

819

Assumed 5 percent of all above for spares

17,201

Total new nuclear weapons in 1980s



The Trident is a nuclear powered submarine over two football fields long and five stories high, more than twice the size of the Polaris and Poseidon submarines it is to replace. It can carry as many as 24 ballistic missiles, each with up to 8 Trident I nuclear warheads or up to 14 warheads when the Trident II missile is added to the U.S. arsenal in the late 1980s. This will give a single Trident submarine the ability to deliver at least 192 separate nuclear explosions.

The cruise missile is a small, subsonic, pilotless airplane, 14 to 20 feet long. It flies at treetop level, eluding enemy radar, guiding itself to the target by means of a tiny computer which matches terrain features against computerized maps on board. It can be launched from almost any vehicle on land, sea or in the air. It will be able to take its warhead to within 100 feet of its target.

The MX missile is a land-based intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) designed to augment the existing force of Minuteman III and Titan ICBMs. The MX would be mobile, rather than in a fixed silo, and will carry 10 to 14 independently targeted warheads. The Minuteman III carries only three and the Titan only one warhead. Each MX warhead would have twice the explosive power and three times the accuracy of the Minuteman III warhead. The path of the MX warhead could be adjusted in flight so as to elude enemy defenses, a feature known as MARV (Maneuverable Reentry Vehicle).

Refinements of peraccurate missiles, computers, and satellites lead military planners and technocrats to believe that a nuclear war can be controlled. The illusion of a "limited nuclear war" has been spawned by war games and the persistent assumption that in every war there is a winner. There will be no winners in a nuclear war.

The U.S. must begin immediately the process of unilateral disarmament. The U.S. can accomplish this humanitarian objective without any significant threat to its internal security by implementing a gradual phasing out of its nuclear arsenal by natural attrition; as older weaponry ages and requires refitting and scheduled maintenance, it should be taken out of service, dismantled and no new weapons built to take its place.

The U.S. should also end immediately any further underground nuclear testing at the Nevada Test Site which is on lands guaranteed by the Treaty of Ruby Valley in 1854 to the Shoshone people. Approximately every three weeks a nuclear device is detonated at that site releasing radiation into the surrounding desert environment and to the desert winds.

There should be a complete and total end to all further mining, milling, enriching and reprocessing of uranium or thorium ore in the U.S. Since over half of all privately owned uranium resources are on Indian lands guaranteed by almost 400 treaties, Indian people have been unjustly exposed to all the accompanying health and psychological effects of uranium mining and milling. The mining, milling, enrichment and reprocessing of uranium ore pollutes the air, water and land of Indian people with both high and low-level ionizing radiation and is considered to be an extremely serious violation of the basic human rights of all Indian people living within the borders of the U.S.



"While the U.S. must begin unilaterally to disarm itself of nuclear weapons, talks should begin immediately between the United States and the Soviet Union toward meaningful bilateral reduction in the number of nuclear weapons currently being stockpiled and deployed in both countries..."

All sales by the government of the U.S. of enriched uranium for reactors or for weapons to all other nations of the world are a grave threat to the security of all peoples of Mother Earth.

U.S. should renounce the further development, deployment and use of any enhanced radiation weapon, the so-called neutron bomb, and halt implementation of plans to station such warheads in Western Europe. The neutron bomb is a small "low yield" nuclear bomb intended to replace current nuclear warheads used in Lance battlefield missiles and in 155mm and 8" artillery rounds used by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies of the U.S. This is an unnecessary and certain provocation of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies in Eastern Europe.

While the U.S. must begin unilaterally to disarm itself of nuclear weapons, talks should begin immediately between the United States and the Soviet Union toward meaningful bilateral reduction in the number of nuclear weapons currently being stockpiled and deployed in both countries. We also see the necessity for meaningful talks to begin between the member states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO toward reduction of the number of nuclear arms stationed in all of Europe.

Considering the incalculable destruction and desecration of the lands of the indigenous peoples of the Marshall Islands in the South Pacific, the cultural and social degradation brought about by over twelve years (1946-1958) of testing over 65 atomic and hydrogen bombs in the Bikini and Eniwetok Atolls, and the toll in human misery and suffering by the people of the Marshall Islands, there must be an immediate end to all storage and deployment of nuclear weapons and the disposal of nuclear

waste anywhere in the Pacific Ocean. A Nuclear Free Zone in the Pacific is imperative.

The U.S. was the first nation on Mother Earth to detonate an atomic bomb and were the first nation on Earth to explode a hydrogen bomb. The U.S. also developed the first intercontinental bomber in 1948 and the first nuclear-powered strategic submarines in 1960. The U.S. was the first nation to expand the nuclear arms race by staggering, and perhaps uncontrolled, proportions with the development and deployment of MIRVed missiles in 1970. And finally, no one should ever forget that the U.S. has been the only nation ever to use a nuclear device on another nation-states population.

This long list of "firsts" for the U.S. is only further evidence that refutes all assurances to the contrary that the U.S. only wishes peace in the world and that it will utilize its nuclear weaponry only in a defensive posture. This list of "firsts" is evidence of the gross violations by the U.S. of human rights on a global scale unthinkable until the advent of the nuclear age on the morning of July 16, 1945 in the desert west of Alamogordo, New Mexico.

If life is to be preserved on this planet, on sacred Mother Earth, then the U.S., which has always led the way in the escalation of the nuclear arms race, must be the "first" to renounce forever the use of nuclear weapons as instruments of war. To this end, the U.S. must begin immediately the process of unilaterally disarming itself of its vast and terrible arsenal of nuclear weaponry. Only such a step can serve to halt the murderous spiral of nuclear arms race and assure that the future generations will have a chance to live in peace and harmony on our sacred Mother Earth.

— Mike Garrity



WESTERN SHOSHONE:

Defeating The MX Missile System In Nevada

By Dagmar Thorpe

In 1979, the United States government aimed its MX missile proposal at the Western Shoshone people. Underestimating the power of the opposition, the federal government closed its eyes to native land rights and tried to trample blindly over the Western Shoshone. In an unusual act of unity, the Western Shoshone and their allies joined together to fight against the common threat of MX missile deployment in the Great Basin. The result was the halt of United States plans to locate in Nevada and Utah.

The Western Shoshone role in defeating the MX missile is a prime example of how traditional native philosophy and contemporary political organizing can work together to defeat an activity which threatens all people. The Western Shoshone anti-MX political movement was fueled by traditional principles which recognize that the earth and all life upon it is sacred; to destroy the earth is to destroy humanity. This responsibility of human beings for the earth is the spiritual undercurrent of Western Shoshone efforts to defeat the MX. The active dynamics between tradition principles and political organizing, as was generated specifically in defeat of the MX and the role of Native Americans in the disarmament movement as a whole, are the subjects of this article.

ROLE OF THE WESTERN SHOSHONE NATION IN DEFEATING THE MX

"The MX missile is the most destructive monster to be introduced into Western Shoshone country. The effects of its construction, or should war occur, are the ultimate destruction of the Western Shoshone people and our sacred Mother Earth." Rayond Yowell, Chairman, Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association

The Western Shoshone played an instrumental role in defeating the MX in Nevada/Utah. Their opposition to the missile system, spearheaded by the traditional Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association and the Duckwater Shoshone tribe, was a well organized political effort which played an essential role in national and state anti-MX strategy.

The basis for Western Shoshone opposition to the MX was twofold: the legal concept of Western Shoshone "ownership" to much of the lands designated for MX missile deployment; and the traditional native concept of providing protection for the lands which the Creator gave the people to survive on. Western Shoshone legal ownership is based on aboriginal occupation of their lands for tens of thousands of years and was confirmed by the United States in the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley. The traditional Western Shoshone people in strict adherence to the principle that Mother Earth is sacred have steadfastly refused to relinquish their lands. The test case for recognition of their land rights by the United States is being decided by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The decision in *United States v. Mary and Carrie Dann* will determine if the federal government chooses to recognize native ownership. The Western Shoshone say however, that the federal government has presented a series of theories of how they took Western Shoshone land which have been successively disproved by the courts. They believe that no matter what the courts of the opposition hold, these lands are still Western Shoshone because the people have never given them up.

Initially, the United States tried to deal with Western Shoshone land rights as an issue which did not exist. The focus of the native political movement to oppose the MX was to push Shoshone land rights into the forefront of the land withdrawal process of the Air Force. The Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association testified during public hearings on the Draft Environmental Impact Study for the MX that "ignoring the land rights of the Western Shoshone people is not an oversight, but an intentional act of destruction perpetrated against us." The Western Shoshone people raised the issue of their land rights before every public forum open to them. Nevada tribes, through their inter-tribal council, was one of the first organizations to oppose the MX in Nevada because "it directly conflicted with the possessory land claim of the Western Shoshone." Over one year later, Duckwater Shoshone tribal chairman Jerry Millett remarked "We have told the Air Force that until the title question is resolved, there shouldn't be any

"I DON'T BELIEVE IN DESTROYING MOTHER EARTH. SHE PROVIDES US WITH FOOD AND TAKES CARE OF THE PEOPLE. IF WE DESTROY MOTHER EARTH, WE WON'T HAVE THE HUMAN RACE ON THIS EARTH. THE MX WILL DESTROY EVERYTHING: POLLUTE THE AIR, WATER, AND EARTH. THE EARTH LOOKS TO US PEOPLE TO SAVE HER IN SOME WAY...."

Shoshone Elder



plans for the MX in this area. Each time we have a meeting with the Air Force, they talk about how they are unaware of this issue. Don't they read their mail?"

The Western Shoshone were successful in their efforts. Every major study assessing the impact of the MX on Nevada people and lands emphasized that "The Air Force must take into consideration the fact that the United States does not presently own the land within the Western Shoshone aboriginal territory which it wishes to utilize for placement of the MX missile system." As a result of intensive organizing, the issue of Western Shoshone land rights as a significant obstacle to MX deployment was raised in two baseline data reports for the DEIS prepared under subcontract with the Air Force, a report by the Office of Technology Assessment of the 97th Congress, and the state of Nevada official response to the DEIS.

The Western Shoshone were also successful in raising a network of support with national and statewide organizations seeking to defeat the MX. On a national level, the Western Shoshone worked closely with the Clergy and Laity Concerned and SANE; on a state level, they worked with Citizen Alert, the Great Basin MX Alliance, and Native Nevadans for Political Education and Action, a native group formed to protect the natural world and to defend tribal sovereignty. A joint strategy session was held at the Foresta Institute with regard to incorporating Western Shoshone land rights as an integral part of opposition to the MX.

The outcome of Western Shoshone political organizing efforts was that Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger in a national news story acknowledged Western Shoshone land rights as one of the major reasons for not deploying the MX in Nevada.

Simultaneously, the Sacred Lands Association had to insure that a forced pay-off by the Indian Claims Commission would not occur. The legal effect of this pay-off would have barred the Western Shoshone from asserting their land rights in the courts of the United States. The Association and Duckwater launched an intensive community education campaign within Shoshone country to educate the people on their land rights; and continued the legal

case to have their rights confirmed by the federal courts.

What is important about the Western Shoshone example is that it is a successful demonstration of an Indian nation's role in defeating a project which would have brought irreparable harm to the land and all people. The MX also figures in the present escalation of the United States war machine. Disarmament of nuclear weapons of war is an issue of survival for native and all world people. Through the joint efforts of the Western Shoshone and their allies, the MX was run out of Nevada. Observers are still extremely cautious about the future potential of the MX for the Great Basin. The appeal in the Dann case is waiting backstage. A victory for the Western Shoshone will also mean a victory for the people of Nevada in maintaining a solid basis for opposition to the MX.

NATIVE TRADITIONAL BELIEFS FUELED THE ANTI-MX MOVEMENT

Western Shoshone opposition to the MX was more than a fight over property rights, it was a full-fledged battle to protect the natural world and the principles upon which Shoshone life is based. These principles of living are perhaps the most significant aspect of the Western Shoshone struggle. The Western Shoshone people believe that it is their responsibility to protect Mother Earth and all life that is upon it.

"The land is most sacred, as is the water flowing upon it. The growing things of the land. The air we breathe. The good that grows for us to eat. All of these things were put here for our use by the Great Spirit and respect is given them by all Indian people of this land. The Western Shoshone have a duty to protect these things."

We declare that we are opposed to the installation of the MX missile system or any other offensive weapon of war." Declaration of the Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association.

To the Western Shoshone survival of the land means survival of the people. The land and the people are inseparable. Shoshone relationship to the land is based upon thousands of years of coexistence and observation in one place. Corbin Harney, a Shoshone elder from Duck Valley explains:

"I don't believe in destroying Mother Earth. She provides us with food and takes care of the people. If we destroy Mother Earth, we won't have the human race on this earth. The MX will destroy everything; pollute the air, water, and earth. The earth looks to us people to save her in some way. If you are good to Mother Earth, you will be taken care of by her. If not, then she will do you harm. All the animals are looking for us to pray for them. We the Indian people have the voice. We must speak out for the animals and birds to be healthy. That is the main thing, we have to pray for our Mother Earth. We cannot live without the sun, water, earth, and winds. Anyway, that is my belief."

The principles of the Western Shoshone people are based upon a spiritual and practical relationship with the earth. The people recognize that all aspects of the people's lives come from the earth. Western Shoshone religion encompasses all members of the universe of life, the plant and animal families, of which we are a part. There is an absolute relationship between human beings and the rest of the natural world which must be maintained in harmony and balance. These basic principles of the Western Shoshone people are described by Glenn Holley, a leading spokesperson:

"We indigenous people are born with our own natural laws, religion, and our own natural way of life which involves Mother Earth. It is the lack of a spiritual life that is creating pollution, cancer, violence, and changes of weather within the atmosphere. The Great Spirit says this is your Mother Earth. She feeds you, comforts you when you are hungry or sick. With that in mind, Mother Earth should never be destroyed for any reason."

The Western Shoshone people have survived on the earth for thousands of years without visible destruction to the surrounding environment. The native people took only what was needed for survival; and treated all of life with respect. Glenn Wasson, Paiute and Shoshone educator, states "Under the Indian rule, every living thing on Earth has its rights. You respect other people's rights, the deer's rights, the tree's rights, the sagebrushes rights, the water's rights, and the fishes rights. Harmony is most important. Mental and physical happiness for all living things - not just mankind. When each and every thing has its own space to breathe and live the full life allotted to it by the Creator, then you have harmony."

If people are to survive on this planet, the Earth must be respected in a sacred way. If human beings do not take care of her, she will lose the ability to care of human beings. Her gifts of life will be destroyed through misuse. Wasson continues "The white people try to equate national defense against human lives. There can never be an equation between the dollar bill and living things - the fish, the birds, the deer, clean air, clean water. There is no way of comparing them. The white people seem to be so smart - they can make planes that fly or the MX missile but they won't leave a world their children can live in. It is beyond me, how anybody can be so cruel to next generations."

NATIVE WORK WITH THE DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT IS A NATURAL EXTENSION OF NATIVE PRINCIPLES AND BELIEFS

Nuclear war is the ultimate destructiveness of a society which has created acid rain, toxic waste, nuclear power and other hazards to human and natural world life. The profound love and respect which native people hold for

all of the natural world is the cornerstone of an ideological shift which must occur if human beings are to survive on this planet. These native principles are based upon tens of thousands of years of observing life on this planet. These ancient principles can provide a contemporary philosophy of life, not as an abstraction but as a practical guide to survival.

The values of American society must be substantially altered. Human beings have lost their relationship to the earth. Greed has so discolored human vision of the world, that the gifts of the earth are perceived as personal treasure to be used and abused indiscriminately. The natural spiritual life of each plant and animal has been twisted and deformed to serve the needs of human beings. Human beings have become increasingly removed from life and from each other. They live in controlled environments which reflect only themselves. Human beings no longer view themselves as part of the universe of life, but rather view life as something to be conquered.

The lives of human beings are so polluted that it is unbelievable that we can live. The air we breathe is filled with automobile and industrial pollution. The plants we eat have been loaded with chemicals and stripped of their natural life giving elements. The animals which provide our food are forced to live as mutations of life; castrated, shot with hormones, confined to live in cages. The water we drink has been polluted with sewage.

In the name of progress, human beings have destroyed the native plants and animals, gouged out the earth, and desecrated the entire natural world. Everywhere we look Three Mile Islands, Love Canals, and acid rains emerge like cancerous sores on our sacred Mother Earth. Human cancer is an extension of the cancer perpetrated on our Mother Earth. As she becomes diseased, so do the human beings that seek nourishment from her. To cure human cancer, you will have to remove the pollutants and filth which contaminate our natural world.

The sacred lands of the native people have become desecrated by the filth and pollution of a technological society. Compare this with the profound respect that the traditional Native American has for the natural world. In the native way, a prayer is given whenever the life of a plant or animal is taken by a human being. Thanks is given in appreciation for the life needed by the human, so that he might live. Human love encompasses all members of the universe of life, the plant and animal families of which we are a part. The land and the people are inseparable; the future of the natural world is also the future of human beings.

Disarmament is the ultimate issue which a society drowning in its own filth must face. Rather than the slow lingering death of our relatives from the plant and animal families, we are faced with total elimination in one stupid and senseless act. Greed has engendered a society which would rather destroy itself, than lose a non-existent game of political power. Nuclear war is the ultimate act of human selfishness. For Native American people, the issue of nuclear war is the final act in a continuing saga of human and environmental destruction. To support disarmament is the natural conclusion of a philosophy which honors all of life. The people of technological society must listen to the voices of the natural world peoples as the key to survival of human life on this planet.

WEAPONS

- * The biggest hydrogen bomb is equal to 4,000 Hiroshimas.
- * These bombs are being created at the rate of 8 to 10 everyday, and on average, each bomb is equal to about 20 Hiroshimas.
- * It is estimated that there are over 50,000 nuclear weapons today which is equivalent to 1,25 million Hiroshimas, according to the prestigious Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.
- * One Poseidon submarine can wipe out 160 Soviet cities; every major city in the U.S.S.R. There are 31 Posiedon sub, and they're now considered obsolete, and they are being augmented with the much bigger Trident submarines.
- * Each superpower can wipe out the other superpower 50 to 70 times over, and Maclean's magazine said on August 30, 1981, that the superpowers can now destroy the entire world from 20 to 40 times over - estimates of the "Global Overkill Factor" run up to 60.
- * The accumulated firepower of World War II and Korea can be packed into a single plane or submarine, and Jimmy Carter, in his final address as U.S. President, said WWII would be like a complete WWII for every second of every minute for an entire afternoon . . . 21,600 consecutive WWII's. PLUS, of course the radiation affects.
- * The use of 10 percent of today's weapons, according to Helen Caldicott, would destroy enough of the ozone layer to blind every eye on the planet that wasn't protected by something like a welder's mask.
- * If we accept the most conservative estimate of the Global Overkill Factor, and if we imagine



"It reads, 'Screw You'."

a balanced process whereby each superpower dismantles 10 bombs per year, it would take 2,850 years or 114 consecutive generations before stockpiles fell so low that the superpowers could only destroy the whole world once...each.

* The Reagan administration plans to build 18,000 new nuclear weapons in the 1980's (NOT counting the neutron bomb!), according to the Center for Defense Information.

* The number of nations possessing nuclear weapons is expected to double in the next 15 years (Tom Gervasi).

* The U.S. has threatened, publicly and privately, to use nuclear weapons 15 times in the last 35 years.

* In the past 3 years, the American computer defense system has incorrectly announced a Soviet attack 140 times.



THE ARMS RACE AT A GLANCE

How fast is the race?

In 1962 the United States had 7,400 warheads, Russia 400. In 1982 the U.S. has 11,000, the U.S.S.R. 8,000. By 1990, at present plans, these figures will double. Total: 38,000 warheads.

How much does it cost?

In the U.S. one dollar in two goes to the military. The average American family pays more in taxes to support the world's arms race than to educate its children. It costs about the same to arm and train 1 soldier as it does to educate 80 children. It costs about the same to launch 1 nuclear-missile submarine as it does to build 450,000 modest homes.

How dangerous is it getting?

In addition to the U.S. and U.S.S.R., France, Great Britain, China, and India have the bomb, and there is evidence that Israel, South Africa, and even Taiwan also have bombs. It is estimated that, because of nuclear power plants, 40 more countries will have nuclear capability by 1985, 100 by the year 2000.

How easy is it to make a mistake?

The most serious false warning that the U.S. admits to involved a computer that interpreted the rising of the moon to be a massive Soviet missile attack on the United States.

-Michael Ventura, NEW AGE



INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND INTERNATIONAL REALITIES



Some progress toward the proposed recognition of the right of indigenous peoples is being made. This year the United Nations Economic and Social Council is forming a Working Group on Indigenous Populations. Although the powers of this Working Group are very limited, it is a significant achievement because it is the first institutional mechanism within the structure of the U.N. which will be devoted to the issue of the rights of indigenous peoples and because it will make the question a yearly agenda item before the U.N. Human Rights Commission. This represents a major consolidation of much of the work which has already taken place. The next step is to educate the Working Group. It is very important that the cases brought before it are properly presented and that the Working Group not be presented with the most politically explosive cases right at the beginning.

There are internal contradictions in this struggle for self-determination which must be faced by those peoples who are entering this arena. There are a lot of people who are in the villages who are saying that they want to keep their land but they don't want to give up their welfare checks. In some ways there's nothing wrong with that because the conditions of their poverty were imposed on them as part of the process of colonization. The reality is, however, that even if there is some recognition of their land rights, they still remain a totally colonized people whose social reality is dictated by the dominant society. It is understandable that people who have become dependent as a result of these colonial institutions are not likely to suddenly realize that to become decolonized they must give that up and develop their own viable economy once again. It's not realistic to expect them to do that over night, and this is one of the hard realities which Native political figures, especially Native political figures in North America, must face.

Many Native groups and peoples are feeling the need to take their cases before international organizations to gain recognition of their rights. There are several reasons for this. One very important reason is that there is virtually no country in the world where indigenous peoples can have their rights vindicated in the domestic courts of the country in which they live. For the most part, the laws affecting native people which have been enacted and implemented by the various states, particularly in this hemisphere, either amount to a kind of colonial legal system that itself deprives indigenous peoples of their rights, or these laws are set up to recognize the rights of citizens without differentiating the different population groups within the country and are incapable of dealing with profound cultural differences. Over the past five years the aspirations most frequently expressed by Native peoples involve their right of self-determination. The right of self-determination is impossible to deal with on a domestic level. It is an international concept and is something which has become a very important part of international

law and can be propounded only at that level.

It is often asserted that, under international law principles, people have a right of self-determination. A right is something that the legal system will recognize and will give some kind of remedy to if that right is violated. Under classic legal thinking, if there is no remedy, there is no right. These words are easily confused. Human rights are not exactly the same as civil rights. Civil rights are rights to equality within the legal system, rights to equal protection of the laws. Theoretically all citizens within a state have the same rights relative to the laws of the state. Internationally protected human rights are concerned with many of the same things, but also involve other dimensions of rights which go far beyond civil rights. For example, the right of a people to exist, which has been memorialized in the Genocide Convention, is a very important fundamental human right. There is very limited recognition of these kinds of rights in the municipal laws of the nation states. In the U.S., there is some limited legal recognition of the validity of treaties signed between indigenous peoples and the United

States, but for the most part, the rights of Native peoples as peoples is not recognized and the U.S. legal system is not capable of recognizing those rights.

In the Americas, the Native peoples have no rights to a continued existence as peoples. If this were not true, people would take their cases to domestic courts.

There are some rights which have been recognized internationally and some rights which have not yet been given broad recognition under international law. Some of these rights are fundamental to the existence of Native peoples as peoples, rather than as simply collections of individuals. If a people are asking for a right of citizenship, in company with all other citizens of a country, if that is the level of aspiration and of the rights that are being asserted, then those rights most often can best be dealt with at the domestic level. In some countries, however, the level of repression of all of the citizens is so great that the situation needs to be dealt with at the international level. In that case, the demand is for the rights of citizenship of all of the people.

In the case of Native peoples, the issue involves the rights of peoples to exist as distinct peoples, or in some cases, as nations. Those things are very different from a simple demand for civil rights or equality of citizenship. This issue involves the effort to gain recognition of special rights, rights which either pre-exist the development of the state or rights which the state is incapable of dealing with under the principle of equality of treatment.

One of these special rights is the right of self-determination. The right of self-determination, as it is developed in international law, is essentially two-fold: the right to determine your own destiny as a people, and the right to be free of alien domination. In its most modern form, the right of self-determination is the result of a decolonization process in many areas of the world. It is basically a right of free choice — the free choice to determine the political future of a people as a people. That could take many forms. It could, in its largest sense, take the form of statehood, of sovereignty — complete international sovereignty. It could mean a relationship of autonomy within a state. And it could mean complete merging within a state. The essential point is that the people, as a people, would have the right to choose what their status would be.

The rights to a continued existence as distinct peoples is not recognized under the laws of the nation states. Many Native peoples often charge that, far from a recognition of their rights, the legal systems of these nation states enact policies which can be described as genocidal. Genocide is the intentional systematic effort of a state to eliminate a whole people, and the term has usually been interpreted to mean the physical extermination of a people. In recent years many of the Native people have been talking about cultural genocide, the systematic extinction of a people as a people through the destruction of their culture by forced assimilation into the larger society. At this point, most international lawyers have been unwilling to give legal recognition to the concept of cultural genocide. It is very possible, however, that the concept of cultural genocide does exist in the Genocide Convention. One of the crimes listed in the Convention is the removal of children from their parents into the custody of the dominant society. That would appear to be a very powerful expression

"This injustice in terms of land holdings is at the root of much of the unrest in those countries where Indians are being driven from their lands because of unrecognized titles. Tens of thousands of Indians are now forced to become refugees with the attendant human rights violations such as disappeared people, assassinated people, tortured persons, political prisoners, and so forth."

of the concept of cultural genocide. In the case of the removal of children from their parents there is no talk of the concept of mass murder of people. The issue is one of severing the cultural (and/or spiritual) connections of the generations in order to eliminate the existence of the people. It is one of the manifestations of cultural genocide and it is in the Genocide Convention.

At the time the Convention was first being discussed there were some suggestions that to destroy the cultural heritage of the people was also a form of genocide. That concept was not included in the Convention. The original drafting of that provision had to do with museums, art objects, things of that sort which in the late 1940s was the way in which Europeans viewed culture. It was a very narrow view of culture.

What Native people are talking about is a much broader view of culture as fundamental to the identity and existence of peoples. Language and the suppression of language is one of these concerns.

In both of the human rights conventions, the Convention on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the first article expresses the rights of self-determination of peoples. That right is expressed both in political terms and in economic terms. The economic aspect of self-determination, at the most minimal level, is a prohibition against depriving people of their means of subsistence, their economic survival.

Native peoples have demanded recognition of many kinds of rights, including their rights to hunt and fish. For many Native peoples, their continued existence as a distinct cultural entity is absolutely dependent on their ability to exercise their right to their traditional economy, and their traditional economy centers around hunting and/or fishing. It is no less true that for many of these peoples, their actual physical existence, or at the very least the quality of their physical existence, is also absolutely dependent on their right to hunt and/or fish.

The right to hold lands is another basic right which Native people have asserted is denied to them under the laws of many nation states. In Latin American countries, Indian peoples have held lands since time immemorial. In Guatemala, for example, the right of Indians to hold lands was in many cases recognized by the Spanish. There is no question that these people have always held lands and there is no question that these people subsist upon these lands. Today, in many cases, their right to that land is not recognized either as Indians or as individuals. In some cases the legal systems of Latin America do not recognize the rights of Indians to hold property at all, much less do they recognize their aboriginal or inherited right to the lands which they already possess. Some of these legal systems do not even recognize the previous instruments (the Spanish recognitions) of their rights to hold property. This injustice in terms of land holdings is at the root of much of the unrest in these countries where Indians are being driven from their lands because

of unrecognized titles. Tens of thousands of Indians are now forced to become refugees with the attendant human rights violations such as disappeared peoples, assassinated people, tortured persons, political prisoners, and so forth. All kinds of horrible human rights violations can be traced to the corruption manifested in the unwillingness or inability of these governments to recognize the rights of these Indians.

Next to actual extermination, the deprivation of the right of land possession is the most fundamental oppression. Land is the most essential element to the integrity of a people and the integrity of their culture. Any real definition of what a people is includes a definition of territory. Land is the basis for the economy. It is the basis for the culture and the basis for the physical proximity of the people. Land is the place on which people exercise their basic human rights, including the right to exist.

Most of the horrible wrongs done to Indian people throughout history were the result of the greed for Indian land. The original settler colonies wanted the Indian land and invariably they also wanted Indian labor. At times the labor exploitation worked and at other times it didn't, but in every case greed for the annexation of land lies at the root of the oppression. The oppression has always taken the form of massacres and brutality and it is important to underline the fact that this is not simply a historic phenomenon, that this is occurring today, not just in Guatemala but in many parts of this Hemisphere and in many other parts of the world.

In some cases land titles have been guaranteed in international documents called treaties. Nation states today have asserted that the treaties that they have signed with Indian peoples are something less than real treaties. Under international law, from any reasonable standard, the treaties are valid international documents. The U.S., for example, does recognize the fact that the treaties with Indian nations are valid international documents. Under U.S. law, however, the power of Congress to unilaterally modify or abrogate any international treaty is unquestioned by the courts. It is impossible to challenge the power of Congress to abrogate a treaty right within the legal system of the United States. The situation is much more ambiguous in Canada. The Canadian treaties have not always been regarded under Canadian law as valid international documents. The level of protection afforded by Canadian law to those treaty rights has been even less, or at least potentially less, than in the United States.

In neither of these countries can the ultimate right to maintain the integrity of a territory be protected in the domestic legal system. If there is to be any protection at all, there must be some form of international recognition and international protection of these rights.

There are two things which happen when a treaty between a state and an indigenous people is violated: the principle of treaties in international law is violated and, at the same time, the human rights of the Native people is almost

invariably violated as well. The violation of treaties is not simply a question of the right of a state to control its internal affairs but is a matter which often involves the repression of culture and the repression of distinct peoples. The different countries of the world, despite the rather dismal record of protection of human rights in the world, today and in the past, did come together in the 1940s and 1950s and determine that they would agree to minimal standards that all countries must maintain in recognizing and implementing the rights of all of the people who reside within their borders. Many countries are violating those rights with impunity, but there are mechanisms which have been set up within the United Nations and outside of the United Nations to provide an overview of that process and to provide a place where people whose rights are being massively violated can be heard. When words such as "persistent," "massive," "gross," apply to violations of rights, then other states of the world will look at that situation and begin to deal with it either legalistically or diplomatically.

During the 1950s, for example, the United States adopted the Termination Policy which affected a number of Indian peoples. Through an Act of Congress some Indian peoples lost their lands and some individuals among those peoples lost their homes. There was no recourse under U.S. law to protect their rights as distinct peoples at that time. Were such a policy to surface again, it is probable that the only possible protection may lie in international law. The courts of the United States would not even seriously review a challenge to Congress' power over Indian peoples, but an international forum may one day do what the U.S. courts refuse to do.

At this point in time, there has not been sufficient international attention to the issue of indigenous rights. The only existing international document which mentions specifically the rights of indigenous peoples is the International Labor Organization Convention 107 which was written in the 1950s. ILO Convention 107 is a blatantly integrationist document and at this point its existence is an embarrassment to the ILO, but it is the only international treaty



which even mentions the concept of indigenous rights, and by the way, not very many states have ratified it.

The states that exist in this Hemisphere were initially established in the lands of indigenous peoples. Those lands were annexed by settler colonies and these state structures which ultimately were established over all the lands were structures which were imposed on indigenous peoples. These structures did not include and do not include indigenous peoples as peoples.

The concept of special categories of rights is a difficult one to put forward without creating confusion where ignorance reigned. It is important that all races of people and cultural categories of people should have access to the same rights as all other citizens of a country, and most people can readily understand this principle. However, the rights of distinct peoples to continue to exist as distinct peoples is, to many, a new way of thinking. The most progressive thinking during the 1950s and 1960s involved the development of principles of equality and integration and those standards were rather blindly applied to indigenous peoples with little or no understanding of the injustices which could result in the name of integration.

If some individuals of indigenous origins wish to become full citizens of those countries which were established in their lands, certainly they should have every right to do that, and no state should be able to deprive them of that right. However, if they wish to maintain their existence as distinct peoples within their own territorial base, they should have that right as well. It is a right which predates the formation of these states, it is a right which existed among these people since time immemorial, and it is a right which must become recognized in international law by the community of nations of the world.

It is possible that some indigenous groups might wish to become integrated into the body politic of a nation state. Under the principle of self-determination, that would be part of the range of choice. Up to this time, indigenous people have not approached the international forum and demanded that they have the right to integrate. In fact, the experience has been quite the opposite — Indian people have demanded recognition of their right to maintain their distinct identity. There is no need for a growth of law to encompass the principle of the right of integration. If Indian peoples wish to have their full rights in Canadian citizenship, for example, and if Canada is discriminating against people who wish to do that on the basis of their racial origin or cultural origin as Indian people, that would be a violation of an already firmly established international human right.

If an Indian people demand a certain kind of political status within the structure of a nation state, the question of rights becomes quite complicated. If the demand is autonomy rather than sovereignty, then it might be appropriately a matter for international concern. The Navajo Nation, for example, cannot demand, as a right, entry into the United States as the fifty-first state, but the Navajo Nation could make a demand to become an autonomous region of the United States under terms agreed upon by the Navajo Nation and the United States. The United States would be under no obligation to admit the Navajo Nation into the Union, but the U.S. might be under an obligation to recognize a certain level of autonomy under existing principles of international law.

"Next to actual extermination the deprivation of the right of land possession is the most fundamental oppression. Land is the most essential element to the integrity of a people and the integrity of their culture."

The Basques, for example, have an autonomous region. If the Dene of the north want to have what the Basques have already accomplished, if they want to become an autonomous region within Canada, under the principle of the right of self-determination, that is a legitimate demand to take to an international forum. That is essentially what the Miskitos of Nicaragua are demanding. They are demanding a veto power over the kinds of national developments which take place in their area. It is the strongest form of autonomy, and usually autonomous regions don't achieve that much control over their territories.

Sometimes an autonomous arrangement is memorialized in the constitution of a nation state, and sometimes it is created through legislation. It is not very strong when it is legislated, and people who are demanding autonomy should probably make a demand that

"Most of the horrible wrongs done to Indian people throughout history were the result of greed for Indian land... The oppression has always taken the form of massacres and brutality and it is important to underline the fact that this is not simply an historic phenomenon, that this is occurring today, not just in Guatemala but in many parts of the Hemisphere and in many other parts of the world."



Photo by Dick Bancroft

this would be a constitutionally mandated autonomy which cannot be amended without their consent. How that autonomy ultimately looks, what the relationship is between the central government and the autonomous region, is subject to negotiation, but in most cases where it does exist, the courts of the central government have some authority within the autonomous region. Usually there is some kind of provision for federal or central veto of legislation within the autonomous region which conflicts with basic constitutional principles of the country as a whole. The exact nature of that relationship is usually subject to negotiation. There is usually a common customs union, a common military, and often a single police force. The question of natural resource exploitation would be subject to negotiation. That's what autonomy is. It includes citizenship. Under certain circumstances, the demand for autonomy could be an appropriate subject to bring before an international forum.

The Native peoples have been speaking for years about sovereignty, but the issues are really much broader than that. To people in the international arena, the demand for sovereignty is paramount to a demand for statehood (as a nation state, not as a state of the Union). Under some circumstances, some of the indigenous nations have been making demands for sovereignty. There is an historical validity to those demands — they have treaty relations, they possess territory, and they have all the things that one would expect a state to have except for the fact that they have been colonized. They are demanding as part of their decolonization process and their right to self-determination that they have a right to statehood. At this time only a small number of indigenous peoples are making precisely this demand for statehood.

Some of the Native political organizations have attempted to engage in actual diplomacy and have approached nation states in attempts to arrange what might be seen as political alliances. The International Indian Treaty Council, for example, engages in dialogue with such states as Nicaragua. Such attempts at diplomacy are somewhat unusual when initiated by non-governmental organizations. Nation states, unlike NGOs, operate on a basis of narrow self-interest. Nicaragua, for example, recently rejected a proposal that Nicaragua recognize the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty between the United States and the Sioux Nation. There is little benefit to Nicaragua in recognizing the principle of the sovereignty of an indigenous nation in the United States while engaged in a bitter struggle with Miskito Indians who are demanding autonomy in Nicaragua.

As the right of self-determination evolves, it must evolve to include the indigenous peoples. Sixty years ago self-determination was a new idea. Even though it was a major principle articulated by many of the states involved in World War I and it became the founding philosophy of the League of Nations, it was not regarded as a fundamental principle of international law. Now it is one of the fundamental issues and principles of international law.

It is time to begin to talk about self-determination in terms of decolonization in relation to Native peoples. People need to understand that the same processes which are called colonization which took place historically in Africa also took place in the Americas. The

only difference is that people speak a different language, have a different skin color, and live within what is recognized to be the United States or one of the other states of the Western Hemisphere instead of living in Africa.

There are things happening in the world which pose threats to this process. The Israelis, for example, are asserting the principle that a people can have autonomy without territory. They are expressing a willingness to grant autonomy to the Palestinian people on the West Bank, but urge that the autonomy has nothing to do with the land base which would remain under Israeli sovereignty.

It is extremely important that representatives of indigenous people have an understanding of the context of international law that we are working in. In terms of human rights, it is clear that the concepts and international treaties that are already in existence are grossly inadequate to recognize and protect the rights of peoples. They were designed to protect the rights of individuals on an equal basis throughout the national society. Nevertheless we are largely forced to deal with international law as it is in our efforts to greatly expand its boundaries.

The most important single principle of international law as it relates to the rights of peoples is the right of self-determination. Self-determination is the right of a people to freely choose their political destiny without external interference. Within this principle is a wide range of possible choice that includes sovereignty, different forms of free association, autonomy, and complete merger with the surrounding state. The key element is the right of free choice so that each people can create relationships that best represent their specific needs. The principle of self-determination is a general principle which can encompass the various situations of all indigenous peoples.

Despite the importance of this principle, it must be understood that, at present, it is not generally regarded as applying to indigenous peoples whose territories exist within nation states. It is central to our struggle that we succeed in expanding the current definition to include ourselves. Self-determination is an evolving concept and many international lawyers have been thinking in terms of expanding the principle in recent years.

At the 1981 NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land it was concluded that land rights, particularly territorial rights, were inseparably connected to the right of self-determination. Land rights cannot ultimately be protected without a continuation of the coherence of indigenous peoples as distinct peoples.

The primary importance of the principle of self-determination is that it is an already existing, vital principle of international law which is capable of expansion and it is a tree that we can all stand under.

Indigenous people have not had many opportunities to bring our case before the world community. Each opportunity is precious to us. At recent meetings, however, a disturbing trend has been developing. Many indigenous representatives have felt compelled to state only the case of their own people in detail, excluding others, and preventing a discussion of general principles. It must be clearly understood that the only way to influence the world community is if we can create a general understanding that we are talking about a widespread, serious hemispheric and global problem. The world community will not respond to



Photo credit: Jerome Liebling

isolated violations of peoples' rights. They must be made to understand that the aspirations of the world's indigenous peoples is truly an international issue.

It is of course understandable that indigenous representatives who have been delegated by their own people want to address their own problems. However, it is questionable that NGO meetings are the appropriate place to "make a case" in detail. The only meeting to date organized with that specifically in mind was the Fourth Russell Tribunal. But even there, cases were carefully selected because they symbolized widespread problems of many peoples or distinct regional situations. At the other NGO meetings, sympathetic NGOs want to assist in establishing general principles that can become international law and can be applied to protect all indigenous peoples everywhere in the world. If each indigenous delegate wants to single-mindedly do his own dance, crucial and irreplaceable opportunities are lost. This has been happening all too often. Despite our widely differing needs and situations, we will stand or fall together on the same set of principles.

Another disturbing and dangerous phenomenon is the effort of some indigenous

organizations to dominate the process. Often they have little actual understanding of the international context in which we are all working, and little grass-roots support. Some of them, at least, do have a comprehension of the liberation process, but recently others, made up of confused, thoroughly colonized and government-funded individuals, have appeared on the scene also seeking to dominate. We have also seen that some well-meaning human rights activists who know nothing whatever about indigenous peoples have recently leaped into the breach with draft declarations of treaties which are the result of lawyers' abstractions. We believe that such documents must emerge over a period of time from the indigenous communities themselves. Only then will they be authentic and effective. Indigenous peoples must have full participation in every aspect of the international process. To be truly effective, however, this participation must be knowledgeable and responsible.

In the meantime, let the people who know what they are doing do their work, while the rest educate ourselves so that all can participate in this effort that is so vital to our lives and our futures as peoples.

"The rights to a continued existence as distinct peoples is not recognized under the laws of the nation states. Many Native peoples often charge that, far from a recognition of their rights, the legal systems of these nation states enact policies which can be described as genocidal.... In recent years many of the Native people have been talking about *cultural* genocide, the systematic extinction of a people as a people through the destruction of their culture by forced assimilation into the larger society. At this point, most international lawyers have been unwilling to give legal recognition to the concept of cultural genocide. It is very possible, however, that the concept of cultural genocide does exist in the Genocide Convention...."

MICRONESIA: Origins Of World War III

World War III is not something to be feared in the future for the peoples of the Marshall Islands in the confederated state of Micronesia. World War III began for the people of Bikini and Enewetak, which are small islands within the Marshall Islands, in 1946. In effect the people and their lands have been used as guinea pigs by the United States in its efforts to build and test nuclear weapons.

In 1946 the U.S. dropped two atomic bombs, the same size as those dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, on Bikini atoll. In 1952, on Enewetak Island, the U.S. dropped the first thermonuclear test bomb which is estimated to be 750 times greater than the 1945 Hiroshima atomic bomb which killed about 100,000 people in Japan.

Micronesia, in the western Pacific about 2,200 miles southwest of Hawaii, consists of some 2,000 tiny islands. The people who inhabit these islands were, up until the 1940's, self-sufficient fishermen obtaining fish, their main source of protein, from their clear blue lagoons. Their land base is actually only about 70 square miles scattered over a large expanse of ocean and islands. Their land provides coconuts, bread-fruit, pandanua and taro.

Bikini and Enewetak, small islands within the Marshall Islands were up until the 1940's among the most isolated and least westernized peoples of the world.

Micronesia, from 1947 to the early 1950's, was under the U.S. Department of Navy and since that time the U.S. Department of the Interior runs the islands. This is the same Dept. of Interior which is supposedly charged with "protecting" Native people, their land and resources within the U.S. They have consistently failed to fulfill that obligation. This department continually takes Native lands and resources with total disregard for the well-being of the Native people. This is a specific pattern, a process, which is used to colonize.

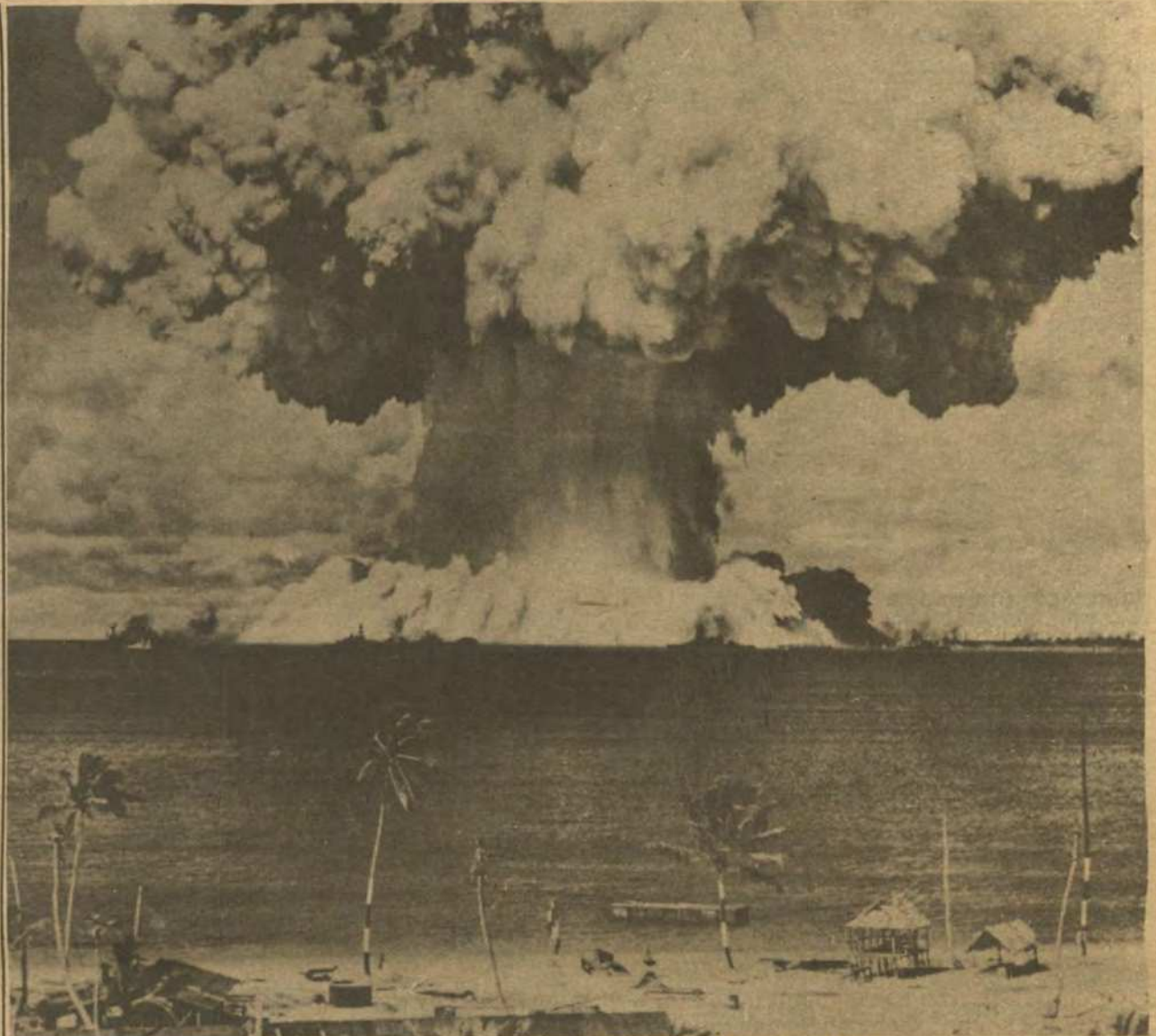
First, the land of Native People is designated as "sparsely populated" therefore justifying the removal of the sparse population. Next, the resources of the lands are utilized by the U.S. and the land is devastated making it uninhabitable and useless. This process transforms a self-sufficient people into a dependent welfare state.

The U.S. signed the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement for the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) in July 1947, this agreement stated, in part:

In discharging its obligations under Article 76(b) of the Charter, the administering authority (U.S.) shall:

2. *promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants, and to this end shall regulate the use of the natural resources; encourage the development of fisheries, agriculture, and industries; protect the inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources; and improve the means of transportation and communication;*

3. *promote the social advancement of the inhabitants, and to this end shall protect the rights and fundamental freedoms of all elements of the population without discrimination; protect the health of the inhabitants...*



"Baker" atomic test at Bikini Atoll, July 1946. U.S. Navy photo.



Bikini in 1946: A self-sufficient native people prior to their relocation by the U.S. Navy in that same year. Photo: Leonard Mason



The Bikinians starving on Rongerik Atoll are evacuated a second time by the Navy in 1948.



U.S. military commanders arrive in Feb. 1946 to relocate Bikinians, making way for the nuclear detonations that ultimately made these islands uninhabitable by humans.



Contaminated by high level radioactive fall-out from a nuclear detonation, the Rongelap People are checked for radiation with geiger counters. (U.S. Navy photo)

THE BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, a magazine on science and public affairs, in the Feb. 1979 issues, published an article *Micronesia: America's 'Strategic' Trust* by Giff Johnson which describes what happened to the people of the Bikini Atoll:

"In January 1946, Navy officials in Washington, D.C. announced that Bikini Atoll fitted all requirements for OPERATION CROSSROADS, designed to test the destructive power of nuclear weapons on naval vessels. When the U.S. military governor of the Marshalls went to Bikini in February, he told the people that American scientists were experimenting with nuclear weapons 'for the good of mankind and to end all world wars.' He promised that their atoll would be returned after the tests were finished, and asked that

they consent to be moved to another island. With more than 42,000 military, scientific and technical personnel, 250 naval ships and more than 150 observation aircraft posed to enter Bikini Atoll for OPERATION CROSSROADS, the 166 Bikinians had little choice but to leave their island."

The same process was repeated with the people of Enewetak, another of the Micronesian islands, two years later in Dec. 1947. During the next 12 years the people would be bombarded by about 70 atomic and hydrogen bomb blasts which devastated the islands and changed forever the lives of these people. The land and the people are contaminated by radioactivity which makes their normal self-sufficient healthy lifestyle a thing of the past. Today they deal with cancers among their people.

The Bikini people were relocated on uninhabited Rongerik, 125 miles east. Rongerik had many shortcomings such as only 1/2 square mile of dry land surrounding a lagoon of 55 square miles. Compare this to Bikini's 2.3 sq. miles of land and 299 sq. mile lagoon. Rongerik also had unusable well water, poor quality coconuts and edible fish at Bikini were poisonous at Rongerik. The people were starving and suffering from malnutrition.

The people of Bikini felt they were to be displaced temporarily and would return to Bikini after a short time. In reality, it was to be 25 years before they returned to their radioactive island of Bikini, only to be removed again in May 1978 because the Dept. of Interior announced that Bikini was "unfit for people to live on."

TINIAN: An Island For Uncle Sam?

Stop the Tinian BASE

April 14, 1982

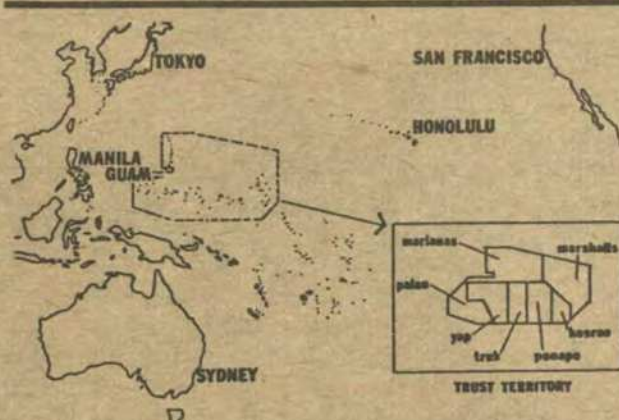
Tinian, the small island in Micronesia from which the U.S. launched its atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II, will soon become another link in the chain of American military bases in Asia if the Pentagon has its way.

The Pentagon announced plans in 1973 for turning Tinian into a major U.S. Air Force base with nuclear weapons and ammunition storage and marine amphibious training sites. Tinian is a small 40-square mile island, 150 miles north of Guam in the Mariana Islands. The Marianas chain, about 1,000 miles south Japan, is part of Micronesia, a United Nations Trust Territory administered by the U.S. since 1947.

STOP THE TINIAN "LAND GRAB"

But in 1973, when the Pentagon initially proposed using the entire island for a \$300 million air base and relocating the village and its 900 inhabitants to make way for a new port and munitions facility, the Tinian people vigorously protested. The military's proposal for stationing a minimum of 5,000 military personnel and dependents on Tinian, while bringing in 8,000-12,000 civilians for construction and operation of the base, would easily engulf the small Tinian population of 900.

The livelihood of the Tinian community is based on farming the rich soil which produces a variety of fruits and vegetables that have been exported to markets as distant as California. In opposing the military plan, the quiet, rural community began organizing meetings, holding the first anti-military demonstrations in the Marianas and sending protests to the United Nations. Tinian's mayor in late 1974 petitioned the U.N. demanding a stop to the U.S.'s "land grab," adding that "we deplore and condemn the sales pitch and tactics utilized by representatives of the U.S. military in their relentless attempts to convince the inhabitants that what is good for the military is good for Tinian."



Local and international protests mounted, forcing the military to reduce its demands to use of 2/3 of Tinian, but this still includes the most productive farming land on an island which a Micronesian agricultural expert

PROJECTED CONDITIONS WITH MILITARY PRESENCE

"...With the projected population density, these agriculture activities will be severely limited and the present standard of living will deteriorate. Family agricultural plots are likely to be eliminated due to the pressures of land demands and the lure of better paying jobs."

"A minimal tenfold increase in population will engulf the present population (of 900). Based on projections, they (Tinianese) would comprise less than ten percent (10 percent) of the total population."

What You Can Do:

Write to your Congressperson and to the Chairman or any other members of the U.S. House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Appropriations Committee (see below), requesting they vote **against appropriations for the Tinian land option.

Clarence Long, Chairman
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.
20515.

**Publicize this issue in the media or in your group's newsletter/publication.

**Write to the Micronesia Support Committee for further information.

Prepared by: Micronesia Support Committee,
1212 University Ave., Honolulu, Hawaii 96826.
Phone: (808) 942-0437.

described as having the most fertile land in the entire Trust Territory.

Under the terms of a commonwealth agreement signed into law in 1976, the U.S. must exercise its option on the more than 17,000 acres of Tinian land in the 1982 budget appropriation for FY1983, or the land reverts back to the Marianas government for agricultural use.

Although the Pentagon says it has no immediate plans for building a base on Tinian, if Congress approves funds for the Tinian option, base construction can begin at any time. Congress has rejected such funding--more than \$30 million--in the past, but the growing strategic importance of these island to the Pentagon means it will lobby strongly for Congressional approval of funds for the base option during 1982.

WHY SHOULD YOU BE CONCERNED

*In a time of major budget cuts for basic human needs, the Tinian base proposal is costly and unnecessary.

*A 1974 U.S. Air Force Socio-Economic study of Tinian pointed out the dramatic impact the base will have on the small Tinian community if the plans move ahead. From the U.S. Air Force study:

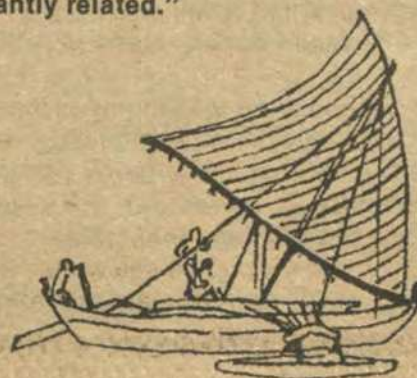
TINIAN TODAY

"The present Tinian community is a close knit one with families taking care of their own relatives. There is little disorganization and there are no serious problems."

"The innate law-abiding nature of the Chamorros and the homogeneous, closely-knit community have contributed to years of peaceful existence on Tinian, one devoid of major crimes.

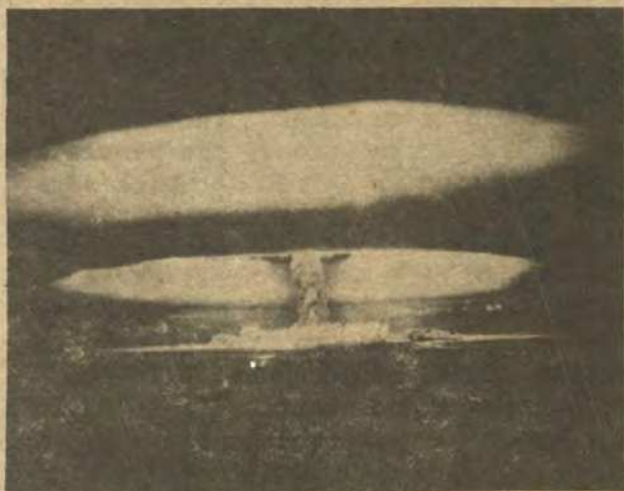
"The basic lifestyle of the people is one of subsistence, depending primarily on farming, the sea and mutual aid."

"Almost everyone knows each other by name...The people of Tinian know all their neighbors, and often, they are immediately or distantly related."



FRENCH POLYNESIA:

FRANCE TESTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS



NUCLEAR WASTE SCATTERED AT MORUROA

Disregarding government regulations binding them to secrecy, French civil engineers stationed on the Island of Moruroa in the Pacific revealed in November to Australia's *National Times* that plutonium-239 and other radioactive debris being stored on one of the atoll's beaches had been swept out to sea by storms earlier in 1981. Moruroa is where France tests its nuclear weapons.

According to the engineers involved, the debris has been on the beach since 1975, when several pounds of plutonium were dropped there during safety design tests. The plutonium, with a half-life of 24,400 years, was covered with cement, to be cleaned up at a later date. Since that time, other radioactive wastes, including irradiated clothing and equipment stored in steel drums and vinyl bags, have also been dumped on the beach. Before the first storm hit last March, the waste heap was said to measure 30,000 square meters.

The civil engineers claim that because of the mounting pressures of an escalated nuclear arms race, the French stopped sealing their radioactive wastes in drums and burying them 300 meters into the earth, as is required by international law. They believe these procedures were abandoned in an effort to save time and money.

On the morning after the tropical storm hit the island, the beach is said to have been strewn with ripped vinyl bags and pieces of asphalt containing the deadly plutonium. In addition, barrels of radioactive waste were floating in the lagoon.

The general in charge at Moruroa appealed to the French government in Paris for aid in cleaning up the radioactive mess, but with elections just two months away, President Giscard d'Estaing was hesitant. The general therefore enlisted the help of some of the 2500 Atomic Energy Commission employees and military personnel who live on Moruroa. It became apparent that the situation was serious when the clean-up crew realized that they could not collect all the debris that had been washed up. Despite the gravity of the situation, officials did nothing to warn atoll personnel other than to advise against swallowing the sea water, which could be contaminated. Officials still allowed swimming and beach games.

The French have been conducting tests on nuclear bombs on Moruroa since 1975. In 1977 they switched to underground tests. Each blast has caused the island's core to sink about a half inch, for a total drop so far of five feet. In 1981, France conducted 10 tests, including six following Mitterand's election last July.

Shortly after the election, civil engineers brought the matter of the beach contamination to the attention of Defense Minister Charles Hernu. Army officials denied that the situation was serious, but ordered a quick clean-up of the island just before Hernu visited on August 4.

The army attempt to cover up the situation was foiled when, on the night before Hernu's arrival, another storm hit the island. A chaotic scene greeted Hernu: crews cleaning up scattered debris, and hastily erected barbed-wire fences sectioning off parts of the island.

Although Hernu promised immediate action to remedy the situation, four months passed without anything being done. Concerned about the increased radioactivity on the island and about the government's apparent decision to ignore the problem, the engineers decided to go to reporters with the details of the story. The engineers have also appealed to the government, through their union, to improve medical surveillance of personnel at Moruroa, and have asked that data concerning contamination on the atoll be made public. The government has yet to respond.

The engineers insist that they support the French nuclear policy, but fearing reprisal because of their latest actions, the group has deposited copies of secret documents in bank deposit vaults and have refused to reveal their names.

Says one engineer, "We have other cards up our sleeves. If the government refuses to take action, we have more indicting information yet to come."

Contact: Pacific Concerns Resource Center, P.O. Box 27962, Honolulu, HI 96827; (808) 538-3522.

(From WIN magazine, Feb. 1982.)

HELP FROM GREENPEACE

Greenpeace will continue in its protest against the outrage at Moruroa. We feel indignant that the French consulate in Sydney declares its ignorance of the situation in French Polynesia. With the close proximity of Moruroa to Australia (3750 miles) shouldn't it be a prime objective of the consulate to know something of what goes on there?

According to the report released by French scientists and technicians working at Moruroa, there is indeed a crack half a mile long in the atoll. Each time a nuclear device is detonated the atoll sinks 2 centimetres. Radioactive pollution is pouring into the Pacific Ocean and contaminating the food chain. Fish such as tuna which are migratory will contaminate the diet of the many peoples of the Pacific.

As this article goes to print, France has exploded another nuclear device (a 15-kt. bomb) at Moruroa. How long will we let this madness continue?

Michelle Sheather
Greenpeace, Sydney Australia

ACTION ALERT

(From: Pacific Concerns Resource Center, P.O. Box 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827 USA
phone (808) 538-3522

April 27, 1982

KWAJALEIN TO CONDUCT REFERENDUM ON WHETHER TO PERMIT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE USE OF ITS ATOLL AS A MISSILE TEST SITE

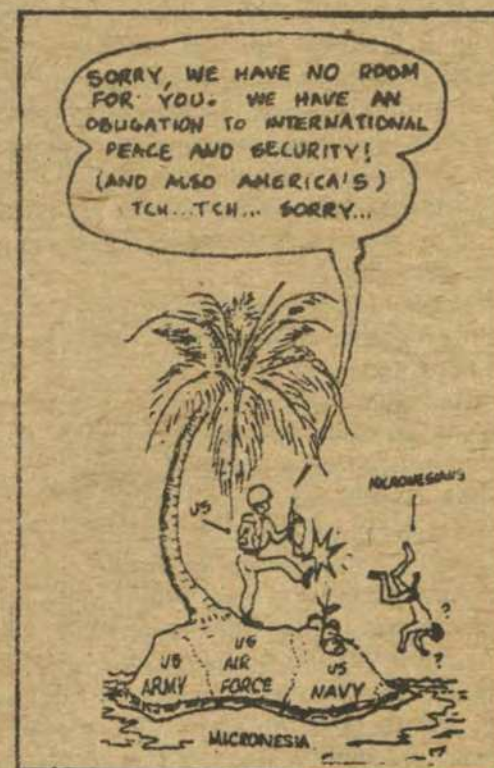
In a press conference April 19, 1982, Imada Kabua, one of Kwajalein's three senators in the parliament of the Marshall Islands, announced that a referendum on "whether to permit continued development of U.S. nuclear weapons using the lands, waters and airspace of Kwajalein" will be conducted August 13, 1982.

In his press statement, Kabua says, "We, as owners of the islands where these weapons are developed, cannot ignore their intended purpose ... to deliver nuclear warheads for explosion over the lands of countries opposed to the United States."

"My people view the United States, and the American people, as our closest friends. But the people of our country, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, call no other nation our enemy..."

"We are not naive. We know the owners of Kwajalein, who number only about 5,000 people living on our remote island in the Pacific, cannot prevent a super-power from developing nuclear weapons. But we can insure that our islands shall not be used for such a purpose. I personally believe that is not only our legal right, but also our moral duty..."

"Therefore, I call on President Reagan and U.S. military authorities who operate the Kwajalein Missile Range to declare a moratorium on any further U.S. nuclear weapons delivery system tests at Kwajalein until we conduct the August 13 referendum so our people can safely return to their islands, as is their right."



MISKITO NATION

Some further words

Interview With Brooklyn Rivera



Gamma-Liaison Photo

AN: Can you tell us who you are, where you're from, and what organizations you work with?

Brooklyn Rivera: My name is Brooklyn Rivera, I am 29 years old, from a Miskito Indian village called Sandy Bay. Sandy Bay is about thirty miles north of Puerto Cabeza. I am the MISURASATA General Coordinator. This is the organization of the three Indian peoples of northeastern Nicaragua.

AN: What issues brought you to the United States?

BR: I came to this country as the guest of the Indian Law Resource Center to try to clarify some of the misinformation that has been given to the people of this country about the situation and the struggle of our people, and to try to get some support from the Indian people and the Indian organizations for my peoples' struggle. I am also trying to get some international human rights organizations involved in our struggle and to involve them in an effort to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

AN: Have you had any successes?

BR: Well, I feel we have made some progress in this country. We have made contact with many personalities and organizations and some government people, such as congressmen. And we have challenged some organizations, such as the Inter-American Human Rights Commission because they made a trip to Nicaragua and Honduras, analyzing our situation, and they are trying to mediate the conflict — trying to organize a dialogue between the Indian leadership and the Sandinista government — so I feel that we made some progress in our work.

AN: Would you please try to describe how you see the nature of the conflict between the government and the Indians.

BR: The basic reason for the conflict is the Sandinista government's policy toward the Indians in Nicaragua. The government in Nicaragua openly refuses to recognize our indigenous people as a nation and also refuses to recognize our aboriginal rights to land, natural resources, and self-determination. So this is the basic reason for the conflict.

Our people strongly demanded that the government give a positive answer to our assertion of rights and recognition of our indigenous personality. But, as the government up to now doesn't want to give us this recognition, the people decided to press the govern-

ment for their rights. There was no alternative. We have lost many lives already. The Marxist government's policy toward Indian people in Nicaragua is to assimilate and exterminate the Indian race.

How are they doing that? What steps are they taking?

BR: From the beginning of the revolution, they have tried in many ways to control the indigenous people in Nicaragua. They decided to destroy the Indian organization MISURASATA, and they are doing that with the relocation from the Coco River. We are very concerned about this (the relocation) project which the government is undertaking. The government says that they are doing this to protect the people and the integrity of Nicaraguan territory. The real reason is that they have a plan to forcibly assimilate the Indian people to their program, their culture in Nicaragua.

AN: There is a growing feeling among U.S.-based observers that the Managua government is trying to use the Indians and Indian land as their natural resources colony, and that they view the Indians as a pool of labor that they can exploit. They then can use the income from that area to pay the Nicaraguan national debt. Some feel that perhaps what is happening is not only a conflict of sovereignty, but also that Managua seems to be interested in colonizing the Indians. Is that widely felt to be true among the Indians?

BR: Right. The Nicaraguan governments have never worried about the people of the Atlantic Coast region. They have concerned themselves only with the richer regions and how to exploit all the natural resources. The new revolutionary government appears as if it is doing the same thing all the former governments did. There are many natural resources in the Atlantic area: gold mines, oil, timber, the riches of the sea. So it looks like the government is more worried about those riches, which belong to the Indians. And for that reason, they don't want to recognize the Indians' territory and the Indians' rights to fishing and to hunting in the area. For example, they have already signed an agreement with the Mexican government for a large paper factory in the region to exploit all of the timber and the pine trees. Also they are trying to exploit the gold mines and the fishing potential. So I think that is one of the reasons the government has conflict with our people — the denial of our rights.

The other interest of the government in our area is the military bases they want to create. For example, they want to have a large fort in Puerto Cabezas and also in the Bluefields area. So they have already made two large airfields in Bluefields and in Puerto Cabezas where large aircraft can land.

In our village of Camila, which is about ten miles from Puerto Cabezas, they built an air-base and forced the Indian people to leave their village and relocate elsewhere. This is the kind of thing they are doing in the region.



AN: When the liberation war ended, the Indians and the new revolutionary government got along fairly well — at least there was a working relationship in the beginning. Then, at some point, the government and the Indians ran into conflict over the question of land administration. There was a plan then that MISURASATA was going to present to the Managua government a land claims document in which the Indians asserted their rights to certain lands. That document was presented a year ago, in winter. Then, the Nicaraguan government arrested the MISURASATA leadership and attempted to destroy the organization. The arrests occurred at about the same time the land claim evidence was to be presented. Was the land claims evidence the reason why the Nicaraguan government destroyed MISURASATA?

BR: All of our people, the Indians of the villages, say that the reason for the crackdown on the organization was that we were preparing to give to the government all the documentation on the land rights. I think our people are right because when we were in jail, the questions that the security men were asking — all the accusations made against us — were because of that demand for land. They (the interrogators) said that this was 'counter-revolutionary', and the government was very concerned about our demand for the land, and our demand for the right of self-determination.

AN: It appears that after the crackdown there was a period of time in which the Managua government began to see that they needed to formulate some kind of Indian policy and in August 1981, they did: Comandante Ortega read the August 12 Declaration on Indian Policy, in which the Nicaraguan government basically stated that they had all rights to determine the development of all natural resources in the Atlantic Coast region. By fall, we saw little happen except this assertion by the Managua government over the right to natural resources. Then, the Nicaraguan government claimed that there were border incursions on the Rio Coco from Honduras which, they said, was the activity of the Somocista National Guardsmen who were attacking across the river.

We would like to know what was happening on the Rio Coco in the fall of 1981 and also, how did what was happening lead to the removals of this year?

BR: First, I have to clarify something: there are no counter-revolutionary or Somocista groups operating in the East Coast area. We believe that some small counter-revolutionary groups are present in the Western Pacific side of the country. The argument that the government gives — of counter-revolutionary groups trying to attack Indian villages — is not right. I can assure you that there are no counter-revolutionary groups in the area because they can't survive in the region. They don't know the terrain or the people. Only the Indians know how to live there, while the former Somoza guardsmen are accustomed only to living in good houses, good-sized towns, and not in the jungle.



in Leimus on the 22nd of December; they killed 15 military there. The people did this — not the Somocista military from Honduras — but some young Indians who had been involved in the Prinzaspolla incident (when there was a fatal clash at a church between Miskitos and the Sandinista military), and they helped the people of Leimus face the military.

Also, the other villages like Riotin, Asan, An-distara, Sixayari, all had their own confrontations with the military. There were about seven different confrontations with the military in these villages; about 200 Sandinistas were killed.

When these clashes took place, the government sent several hundred soldiers to the area. So the people were concerned about that, and many decided to cross the river to Honduras. Only two villages remained — Asan and San Carlos. The military came and arrested all those who stayed behind and decided to obligate the people to march to the relocation camp. Then the military destroyed all of the villages, burned the houses, killed all of the livestock, and left the villages in ashes.

AN: Who was it originally that crossed the river and took the payroll at the gold mine?

BR: We believe that this was a group sent by Steadman Fagoth to get the gold and to use the money to buy some arms.

AN: What is the position of Steadman Fagoth?

BR: Well, Fagoth is openly working to confront the Sandinista government in the military field.

AN: Does he have much support from the Miskitos?

BR: I can assure you that since Fagoth fled to Honduras and joined with the counter-revolutionary groups, he made many mistakes, and damaged our people, and started to lose our peoples' support. He is not in any representative position. The people don't trust him. They don't want him for a leader because of his relationship with the counter-revolutionary groups. Our people hate the Somocistas and want nothing to do with the counter-revolution because we believe the counter-revolutionary groups don't defend our interests and we knew very well how they were when they governed Nicaragua. They were our oppressors and it is not possible for us to join with them in our struggle with the Sandinista government. Our struggle is quite different from their interests. We are fighting for our aboriginal rights and it has nothing to do with counter-revolution. Fagoth has made a big mistake trying to join with these people and use our Miskito people to fight against the Sandinista regime.

AN: Would you say that the Sandinistas were not able to discriminate between the Miskito Indians and the counter-revolutionaries?

"Our people hate the Somocistas and want nothing to do with counter-revolution. They were our oppressors and it is not possible to join with them. Our struggle is quite different from their interests."



The confrontations that happened in December and January were only between the Indians and the Sandinista military. The first week in December, a group of Miskitos from Honduras went into Nicaragua to a gold mine called Morovila on the Huaspuc River, which is a branch of the Rio Coco. The group went to the gold mine and stole the entire gold production of one month and then went back to Honduras. All the workers in the Moro mine were Miskito Indians from San Carlos, Huasa, Huaspuc, San San, Taniska, and other villages. A week later, the government invited these villages to Puerto Cabezas, about 200 miles away from their home villages, to get their paychecks. All the workers went and received their paychecks and were about to return home.

But when they reached Leimus — a military base close to Huaspan — on the Coco River, these workers had to wait for their relatives to pick them up. The military at the base invited them to spend the night at the base. But, during the night, the military said they were under arrest and they took groups from each village out and started to execute them. There were about 80 Indians, and we believe that only 6 survived the executions and are now in Honduras.

Two days after this massacre, all the Indian villages had heard about it and we were very upset and angry. They decided to attack various military forts in their villages. It started

AN: Do you know the date of these incidents?

BR: The 26th of December to the 9th of January.

Then, after these evacuations, they also decided to evacuate the villages of the lower Coco River area, although there had been no confrontations in that area. The confrontations were only in the upper Coco River villages and most villages had crossed over into Honduras. Most of the people who were relocated were not even mixed up in the clashes.



BR: The Sandinista government doesn't want to admit that they have a struggle against the Indians. This is not good propaganda for the revolution. They admit the contradiction in what they say to the international community. They say they are making the revolution for the poor people, while the Indians are the poorest people. So they say we are all Somocistas and that makes good propaganda, because in the international community there is a lot of hate for the Somocistas and everybody wants to support the Sandinistas. So, when they fight with the Indians, they call us Somocistas. When they kill the Indians or repress the Indians, they say, 'we fought the Somocistas' and this is good propaganda for them. But we don't have to pay attention to this kind of slander. No, the real Somocista groups are small, and they are appearing on the Pacific coast. All of the confrontations that you hear about on the Atlantic coast region are against Indians or Blacks in the Coast area.

AN: What has happened since the relocation, after the villages were burned and they put people in these resettlement camps? Have you heard any news about the conditions in those camps?

BR: It looks like they are doing the best they can to make those camps look good. We have some information that the refugee camps in Honduras look better than the relocation

camps in Nicaragua.

In the Nicaraguan camps, the people are isolated. They miss their villages and their families, and they want to go back to the Rio Coco, which is where their life and tradition is, where they know how to survive. Even though the government is making every attempt to present a positive image of the camps — for example, they are building some concrete homes and bringing in electricity in some places — what they have is 30 small houses for 9,000 people. Anyway, the people don't want that kind of house or that kind of life. They want the life of the Rio Coco. So, things are not good.

AN: What is it you are hoping to see that might resolve this conflict?

BR: The Inter-American Human Rights Commission is making some efforts to mediate the conflict. But we are hesitant, we are not too confident, about what positive action can resolve the crisis because the reasons for the crisis are our demands for our rights, and we are not sure the government will negotiate on our rights. Up to now, at least, they have denied these rights. And if they don't want to agree on this in a positive way, to give a positive answer to our peoples' demands, there will not be any peaceful solution.

Our people are very strong in their position on behalf of our rights. If the government will not negotiate with us, there will be no other alternative but to face the government any way we can. Our people have decided they will do anything they have to do to obtain their rights. And this is not because we are manipulated by the CIA or the Reagan Administration policies or the counter-revolution. No, we are struggling on behalf of ourselves and we will continue to do this.

We are still concerned about the future — future tragedies, future bloodshed. Several thousand Indians in the mountains of the Atlantic Coast area have been having sporadic confrontations with the Sandinistas and will not return to their villages, because the villages are under the absolute control of the military. The whole region now is a restricted military area. The future is very uncertain.

AN: Is there any kind of message that you have for the Indians of North America?

BR: We want to say to our people who are struggling for their rights, and to all the Indians of North America, that we are in struggle too for our rights. It is the same trouble that you have in the United States and the same struggle that all Indian peoples have throughout the world. It is a struggle for our dignity, for our aboriginal rights, a struggle to survive as Indian peoples, as indigenous nations of the world. And we urge our brothers to follow the news of our struggle and support us the best way you can. And we promise that we will go on, until the end, and we are sure we will overcome and regain all our rights, because our struggle is just and the Great Spirit is with us



AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL APPEALS TO NICARAGUA

Civil rights were suspended in Nicaragua March 15 when the Government of National Reconstruction declared a state of emergency.

Government representatives said the measure was taken in response to attacks by forces based in Honduras. It said that in recent months "scores of civilians and government personnel" have been killed in the Nicaraguan-Honduran border area, and that one strategic bridge had been destroyed and another damaged on March 14.

Amnesty International cabled the Nicaraguan Government March 19 to express concern over the arrest and trial of 160 Miskito Indians after a series of cross-border incursions last December. It urged a strict adherence to international standards of human rights under a state of emergency.

In addition, AI asked for clarification of the cases against the Miskito Indians, who are being held at Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic coast.

On February 16 a civilian court handed down sentences of three to 29 years' imprisonment on 71 of the prisoners. They were convicted under the Law for the Maintenance of Public Order and Security for their alleged involvement with violent anti-government troops.

Most of the prisoners were detained incommunicado for 27 days before the trial, AI noted, and proceedings were reportedly summary, with limited right to defense. AI urged that provision be made for the full right of defense in pending trials.

The prisoners were arrested in their home villages after a series of attacks that took place between December 20 and 23 on the principal Nicaraguan settlements along the Coco River, which divides the two countries.

San Carlos, whose population of 800 makes it the largest town on the river, was reportedly held by anti-government forces for nearly two days. The regional hospital in Bilwaskarma was also occupied for a brief period.

Following the widespread arrests, some 20 settlements along the river were declared to be part of a military zone. The civilian population was forced to move south to new settlements or to cross the river into Honduras.

On foot and by truck, residents were taken to five sites along the Kukalaya and Sahsa Rivers, where the new settlements were to be built. Amnesty International is now assessing initial reports of conditions there.

from AI publication - Matchbox, May 1982

MISKITO VILLAGES

(by Cathy Gander
Managua, Nicaragua
April, 1982)



EVENTS LEADING TO THE MOVE

The violence against the Miskito villages along the Rio Coco stepped up drastically in November and December of 1981. Gangs from Honduras conducted terrorist raids, raping and kidnapping villagers and killing a total of 60 civilians and Sandinista soldiers. The Sandinista Popular Army compiled a detailed record of the atrocities committed as part of the "Red Christmas" campaign, so named by the anti-Sandinista forces for the blood it would shed.

The bands from the exile camps were made up of an unlikely alliance of ex-National Guard members, Miskitos from both sides of the border trained by the Guards and the exiled leaders of MISURASATA, armed and aided by the governments of the US, Argentina and Honduras. Evidence of the involvement of high-levels of the Honduran army was established late last year when Fagoth was found in a plane crash with senior Honduran army officials. Clergymen from the Moravian Church served as advisers and played a role in helping to convince the Miskito population to throw their lot in with the Honduran-based exiles.

Details of the plan came to light following the arrest of several collaborators, including former Moravian Church pastor Efrain Wilson. The opposition force planned to use the territory under its control as a beachhead for a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua. The CIA-funded alliance hoped to establish a provisional government and planned to seek diplomatic recognition and further financial assistance from the US government and its right-wing Latin American allies.

With the plans well underway by December, 1981, the quality of life of the Miskitos in the area of the Rio Coco was seriously threatened by constant ambushes and thefts of crops, livestock and goods. Village men hid in the mountains to avoid being forced to fight against their own people and some families fled across the river to Honduras to escape the invading bands.

Sniper attacks and the invaders finally cut off the Rio Coco, the Miskito communities' vital artery of transportation, supply and communications. Food and medicine became very scarce.

(The interview with Brooklyn Rivera gives one side of the story of the Indians of the Atlantic Coast which is coming out of Nicaragua. The following piece by Cathy Gander is very consistent with the official line of the Nicaraguan government. As of this writing [late May, 1982] the Atlantic Coast region has remained closed to journalists and other investigators who could interview the witnesses and examine the sites to give a neutral account of what happened in the Miskito villages in December and January.

We don't know exactly what happened in the village of Leimus in December, but it appears to us that something happened there that the Nicaraguan government is taking action to see doesn't become public. Until the military blackout is lifted and investigators can enter the area and find out the story, the controversy will continue.

In the interest of presenting a balanced account of this issue, we are presenting Ms. Gander's story of the situation on the Atlantic Coast. — The Editors.)

"WE HAVE A SAYING IN MISKITO: 'ONE WANTS TO DIE WHERE ONE'S BELLY BUTTON IS BURIED.'"

The situation made the Miskitos' traditional way of life no longer viable, since they had always moved freely across a river they regarded as part of one Miskito kingdom, not a border between two countries.

The Sandinistas decided they had to move swiftly. The government imposed a black-out on news from the Atlantic Coast. Recognizing that the path of any future invasion would be from the northeast, the Sandinistas decided to create a security zone from the Rio Coco to the site of the new settlements, 60 kilometres to the south. With only six hours' notice, the Sandinistas began to move 8,500 people to the new settlements. Another 7,000 chose to cross the river into Honduras.

The Miskitos who went to Honduras met with living conditions worse than those they had left behind, and many then were used as new fodder for the Somocista plan. Those who went to the new villages further inland in Nicaragua had to leave behind most of their belongings and domestic animals, because the relocation required a few days' walk. The villages abandoned by the Rio Coco were burned to prevent their use as camps by the anti-Sandinista forces.



Wasminona

Among the 1,690 residents of Wasminona, one of the five new villages under construction, there are many people who regret leaving the lands where they and their ancestors grew up, but most acknowledge that the villages represent for them a brighter future. Reyna Escobar, a Miskito woman in her 40's, explains: "We have a saying in Miskito... one wants to die where one's belly button is buried". Mrs. Escobar's family was torn apart by the "Red Christmas" campaign. She has had no news of her husband since he was taken captive by former members of Somoza's National Guard, her mother and sisters are in Honduras and she is now alone with her children. "The hardest thing is that my family is split up, and I have never been without them," says Mrs. Escobar. "They must come from Honduras to be here with me."

The new villages have been constructed to respect the family groupings in the old settlements and the Sandinista government has encouraged Miskitos in Honduras to reunite with their families in Nicaragua.

Juan Lopez, a young Miskito farmer, says Miskitos were persecuted by gangs from Honduras, who ordered the Miskitos to stop working in the fields and do the bidding of the invaders.

"I didn't stop working, because I had children to feed", says Mr. Lopez. "They came looking for me one night to slit my throat, but they did not get me because I was at a friend's house."



Mr. Lopez explains how many men chose to hide in the mountains so they would not be carried to Honduras to fight, or to be killed. "No-one could rest easy...if we had not moved, we would no longer be alive. In Wasminona we are safe, we are free."

The Miskitos regret they had to leave all their belongings behind. People apologize for looking shabby, but note they have no other clothes. Women lack the pots necessary to cook and men do not have enough machetes and tools to clear and plant the land. The provisional housing is still spartan, with dirt floors, plastic roofs, sack hammocks and crude wooden tables.

Hector Sevilla, the director of the Wasminona project, says a community plan has been completed by a multidisciplinary team of experts. Although the move was precipitated by the attacks upon the Miskitos along the Rio Coco, the new site had been under study by the government team since late 1980.

The team concluded that the intolerable living conditions along the Rio Coco could not be improved to a reasonable standard of living. Annual flooding destroyed crops, there was little arable land and the area was so isolated that it was virtually impossible to provide medical care, education and social services. A high infant mortality and disease resulted from the lack of potable water and the use of contaminated river water.

The site for the new villages was chosen for its geographical and ecological resemblance to the traditional lands along the Rio Coco. The government will spend US 2.2 million building close to 2,000 wooden dwellings with thatched roofs. The houses will be larger than most of the houses in the former settlements, and each will be surrounded by a large garden space. For the first time in their history, the Miskitos will receive clear title to agricultural lands, which will be co-operatively owned and managed. Each family will also receive title to its own house and lot.

The government has set a goal of self-sufficiency in basic grain production by 1983. Until that goal is reached, a total of US 5 million will be spent to guarantee three nutritious meals a day for all. The villages' population will be restricted to ensure full employment for all Miskitos, in either agriculture, fishing and hunting, construction of dwellings and access roads, timber-felling or arts and crafts in precious metals.

International observers of the Miskito resettlement project have been impressed by the Sandinistas' commitment to developing an innovative model for a rural community.

In slightly more than two months, the Sandinista government has made significant advances in the social conditions of the Miskitos in Wasminona, despite the material limitations of being an underdeveloped country.

While along the Rio Coco medical attention was very scarce and the nearest hospital several days' journey by boat, doctors and nurses are resident in the new villages. Information campaigns and immunizations against polio, red measles, tetanus, diphtheria and malaria are underway. An ambulance is available to take cases of serious illness to the hospital in Rosita, just 1/2 an hour from Wasminona.

The old settlements had neither an ambulance nor medical care. The new highway just completed by the Sandinistas linking the Atlantic to the Pacific is the first major road to connect the Miskito settlements to the rest of Nicaragua.

In the school community members are building, ten teachers are giving classes in Miskito to over five hundred young students, and adult education classes are held in the evenings. Jeronimo Ralf, an elder of the community and the

village story-teller, explains: "We were taught to read and write Miskito in the Crusade last year. One is never too old to keep learning."

Despite a vigorous disinformation campaign to suggest the Sandinistas are trying to eradicate religious influence on the Miskitos, the Moravian and Catholic churches conduct regular services and have played an activist role in the development of the community. The village has been planned to conform to the Atlantic coast tradition of placing the most important churches in the center of town.

Seen from a hill-top, Wasminona is both serene and busy. Colourful banners in Spanish and Miskito stand out against black and blue plastic roofs. Clotheslines flutter with a bright array of garments and smoke from wood fires curls up from the shacks. A group of children laugh excitedly as they are given rides up and down a steep slope on the first jeep some have ever seen. Men and boys hammer furiously as they build the new clinic and in the distance machete-wielding agricultural workers are clearing the fields. Girls and women bathe and wash clothes on the stones of one of the rivers.



THE PROPAGANDA WAR

The Reagan administration and its allies, already embarked upon a campaign to destabilize Nicaragua and discredit the Sandinistas internationally, initially was able to use the presence of an isolated indigenous population on the Nicaraguan border with Honduras, a US ally increasingly hostile to Nicaragua. Had the Sandinistas been successful in setting up earlier a strong political relationship with the Miskitos and increasing their identification with the revolutionary process in the western half of the country, the US government could not have manipulated the Miskitos as easily or made the initial headway it did on disinformation campaigns.

MISURASATA was set up to give the Miskitos political representation in the national legislative body, the Council of State, but the Sandinistas' lack of knowledge of the indigenous population permitted the organization to be dominated by the anti-Sandinista supporters of Steadman Fagoth. Fagoth was able to undermine the Miskitos' link with the Sandinista government. Acting as an agent for the US campaign, he accused the Sandinistas of massacring 250 Miskitos in Honduran territory and described the new settlements to the foreign press as "concentration camp".

Fagoth presented no proof for his allegations and his domination of the Miskitos, based on his personal charisma and his familiarity with Miskito culture, finally failed when his role as the local promoter of separatism as part of the overall US strategy, was exposed.

An elderly Miskito woman in Wasminona said that the Miskitos have believed Fagoth would make good on all his promises. "He seemed honest, to truly care about his people. Now we know he lied to us...he used us for his own power." The woman said that Miskitos in Nicaragua now regard Fagoth as a traitor to his people.

For its part, the Reagan administration seized on the publication in February in the Sunday magazine of the conservative French newspaper Le Figaro of photographs



alleged to depict the Sandinistas burning the bodies of Miskitos.

A long-standing CIA tradition, described in detail by former agent and CIA station chief for Ecuador, Philip Agee, is to plant slanted or false information in an obscure publication.

US Secretary of State Alexander Haig drew the attention of the world press to the photograph, days before the news agency which provided the photographs pointed out the

caption not used by Le Figaro indicated the photographs were taken in 1978 of the atrocities committed by Somoza's National Guard.

A State Department official said the State Department knew of the hoax several days before Mr. Haig called attention to the photographs, a fact which did not deter Mr. Haig's public statements on the photographs and further failed to convince the State Department to alter its allegations about Sandinista repression of the Miskitos.

After his visit to the new villages, Ruben Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independentist Party, accused the CIA of spreading false rumours about the massacre of Miskitos by the Sandinistas. A spokesman for the Honduran government categorically denied the allegations of Fagoth, made most recently in Washington last month, that a massacre of Miskitos by the Sandinistas took place on Honduran territory.

Delegations to the new Miskito villages from legal, religious, human rights and indigenous organizations have uniformly praised the Sandinista government for its approach to the indigenous population. The harshest critics are those who have not visited the villages.

A returning delegation of 15 Christian groups spoke at a Managua news conference March 15th of the contrast between the "imperialist lies" and the concrete proof of improvements in health care, education and general quality of life in the new Miskito settlements. Complete freedom of religious worship exists there.

"This (trip to the Miskito villages) gives us proof to

"A State Department official said (they) knew of the hoax several days before Mr. Haig called attention to the photograph, a fact which did not deter Mr. Haig's public statement."



mobilize Christians of the world so that they can halt the negative forces which threaten Nicaragua" said Sergio Denis Garcia of the Christian organization of UPOLI.

US Congressman Tom Harkin said his visit to the settlement project in late February helped him understand the necessity for the move. Mr. Harkin declared himself impressed with the treatment accorded the Miskitos, noting that although many were sad to leave their traditional lands, they appear to be grateful for the actions and attitude of the Sandinista government.

Accompanying Mr. Harkin to the new villages was Sixto Ulloa of CEPAD, an interdominational group of 38 religious organizations. His impressions of the project were very favorable. Rev. Ulloa was in the US while Mr. Fagoth was there, and concluded:

"The disinformation, the lies that Fagoth took and the Reagan administration reproduced came crashing to the ground. In the places Fagoth visited he gave the impression of being a violent and imprudent man, controlled by the US State Department."

The Sandinista government faces considerable obstacles in incorporating an indigenous population into a revolution in which the Miskitos and other groups played little role. In a short time, the Sandinistas have made significant gains in helping the Miskitos to establish in Nicaragua a self-sufficient way of life that is likely to withstand any further disruptive efforts by the U.S. government or the Honduran-based anti-Sandinista forces the Reagan Administration has supported.

An Interview with Russell Means



(The following is an interview with Russell Means, one of the directors of the Dakota American Indian Movement. It was conducted for AKWESASNE NOTES by Mary Rojas Munoz of the Emergency Response International Network at the American Indian Law Students Association Conference at Harvard Law School in Cambridge, Mass., on April 25, 1982.)

AKWESASNE NOTES: What is the current status of Yellow Thunder Camp? And how can AKWESASNE NOTES readers help?

MEANS: We have a bill in Congress — Yellow Thunder Bill — House Bill 5664. Right now we have two Congressional sponsors. Our bill was introduced by Shirley Chisolm, Democrat from New York, Toby Moffett, Congressman from Connecticut, and James Weaver, Congressman from Oregon. That bill is with the Interior Insular Affairs Committee which is chaired by Representative Morris Udall from Arizona. We need letters, hand-written letters to local Congress people from wherever the individual is from and letters to Morris Udall, Weaver, Chisolm and Moffett.

AN: What will be the effects of the Shirley Chisolm Bill? Will it guarantee title to the 800 acres for Yellow Thunder Camp?

MEANS: It is not a question of title, it is not a question of ownership, it's not a question of any legalities — it is a question of our right to worship and use of the area as a cultural and religious resource area for ten years. During that ten years, both the departments of Interior and Agriculture have to consult with religious and cultural leaders of the Lakota Nation in order to devise policies so those departments will give us our rights under the 1978 Indian Freedom of Religion Act. In the course of those ten years, we have total usage of the area which means that 800 acres is totally out of the public domain. It is not owned by anyone in effect.

AN: What will be the governing body or the set-up of operations at Yellow Thunder Camp?

MEANS: At Yellow Thunder Camp we do not have any rules or regulations other than those that govern security. We have shifts for our security people, and that's the only thing they have to adhere to. Everything else — the community works together to accomplish everything that is needed — our solar energy projects, windmill energy projects, and our gardening, our schooling, our medicine, etc..

AN: Is the bill going to cover rights to resources, hunting and fishing? And is this exclusive to the 800 acres?

MEANS: Yes, we can hunt an fish.

AN: All over the Paha Sapa?

MEANS: No, only in that 800 acres area.

AN: Will this bill extinguish other Sioux claims in the Black Hills?

MEANS: It has nothing to do with other claims. The bill doesn't have any legality either domestic or international. Treaty issue is not a part of the bill.

AN: Let's go back to the question of Indian land and resources. My question to you would be: What do you feel is the major struggle for Indian people today — is it land rights, resources, water, fishing and hunting rights? What is the main thrust of the Indian struggle?

MEANS: Our culture — it's our culture. It's part of the universe, therefore it takes in the land and everything that is sacred and holy for our children and our unborn to be raised as true patriots. True Indian people. We need to struggle for our culture. Of course that includes the land, that includes our prayers, that includes our very survival as Indian people — the right to have health, the right to be treated with respect.

AN: That certainly would apply to the Miskito claims to land titles in Nicaragua. Before this meeting today, there was a question about the position of the International Indian Treaty Council in support of the Sandinista government. I can ask you this "off the record" since it is a sensitive question, and it is one which needs to be cleared up. It's in regard to a statement made by Dr. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz on National Public Radio last month. She stated that she and the IITC had recommended the removal of the 10,000 Miskito from the Rio Coco area in Nicaragua. Is this true?

MEANS: That is so ludicrous that it defies description.

AN: Which brings us to the question of Dr. Dunbar and her claim to represent the IITC. What is her role within IITC? Does she speak for the IITC?

MEANS: Roxanne Dunbar, as my brother (William Means, director of IITC) has mentioned in a letter to John Mohawk (Notes' Editor) has been used as a consultant in specific areas. She never has been nor is now a member of the International Indian Treaty Council. In fact, we have a letter of hers resigning in 1977 after the conclusion of the first international conference on Indians in Geneva. The unfortunate part

about Roxanne Dunbar is that we haven't any control over what she utters. Today, for instance, she told some of the Harvard Indian law students that AIM does not support Armstrong Wiggins. Number one — the American Indian Movement and the International Indian Treaty Council have never taken a position on the indigenous people of Nicaragua vis-a-vis the Sandinistas. As you heard Bill Means state today — you can not make snap decisions on revolutions that are ongoing. We can not keep Roxanne from making asinine statements concerning the American Indian Movement and the International Indian Treaty Council.

AN: Roxanne Dunbar seems to be casting a tremendous amount of doubt on the work of Indian organizations concerned over indigenous rights in Nicaragua as a consultant to IITC. How do you think this problem is going to be resolved?

MEANS: Well, I don't believe that one person — specifically Roxanne Dunbar — can do anything to besmirch the efforts within the entire international community of the IITC. Nor can she do anything to hinder or hamper the American Indian Movement. We've had the best condemn us, infiltrate us, etc. What hopefully AKWESASNE NOTES can do is to clarify a very minor issue, in our eyes, about what is happening in the international community concerning Nicaragua and the rest of the world. Because after all we have sent a delegation — a fact-finding delegation down there. Unfortunately it was before the relocations. We are going back down there to survey, to expose, to find out. As Armstrong Wiggins said, and I totally agree with Armstrong — everything he said here today. In fact, I learned something. You know when you speak of revolution, that means a continuous process. And the revolution is still ongoing in Nicaragua. And also we have to

"...I have my own questions concerning the Sandinistas, at least those I have made contact with, because I feel they are Marxists, and I feel that Marxists are the most racist people on earth."

— Means

have patience. The thing that Armstrong Wiggins said and the thing that I stress in all my talks is that anything European has to be questioned by Indian People. Anything European. And definitely the government of the Sandinistas is European.

AN: What do you think the next step should be?

MEANS: I have my own questions concerning the Sandinistas, at least those I have made contact with, because I feel they are Marxists; and I feel that Marxists are the most racist people on earth. I have very large problems with the Sandinistas. If it were up to me, independently of the American Indian Movement and the IITC, I would come out publicly against the existing junta. However, I am not in charge. So, therefore, my personal sentiments are taken into consideration. Certainly, that is not how we deal with the rest of the world, through my personal sentiments. And people wiser than myself and certainly more patient than myself are going to deal with the Sandinistas.

AN: May we publish this interview in the NOTES?

MEANS: You can print anything I said. I am not afraid of the truth.

AN: This is what we needed to clear up the most, because some of the condemnations and statements, particularly those of Roxanne Dunbar, have confused a lot of people out there about the Native Movements' perspective on this question. In fact, a recent article of hers for

the magazine *Nicaraguan Perspectives*, seems to indicate that she is representing the International Indian Treaty Council.

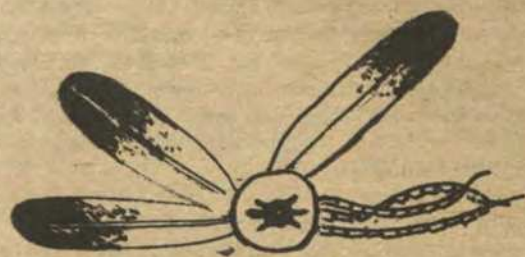
MEANS: It gives that impression, definitely gives that impression. She makes these statements especially the one about Armstrong not being supported by the American Indian Movement. Armstrong Wiggins is one individual of an entire Indian Nation. We support the Miskito, we support the Indian people, period. And that is our first consideration. And as I mentioned earlier and I'll say it time and again — anything European — it's our duty as Indian people to question it.

AN: Thank you very much. You've cleared up some important questions that we had at AKWESASNE NOTES and I'd like to extend an invitation to come and visit us sometime.

MEANS: Right on.



PELTIER:



PELTIER — MOTION FOR RETRIAL BASED ON NEW EVIDENCE

Leonard Peltier is an American Indian Movement leader who was convicted in April 1977 in Fargo, N.D. for "aiding and abetting" in the deaths of two FBI agents. The agents were found dead of gunshot wounds on the Jumping Bill Ranch on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation on June 26, 1975. Peltier is serving two life sentences at the maximum security Marion Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois.

Peltier's lawyers have doggedly pursued every legal avenue to obtain Peltier's release, including appeals to the Supreme Court. The Leonard Peltier Committee has pursued public interest in the case, which was presented to the

1980 Russell Tribunal. *Newsweek* is working on an article which may appear in the May 31 edition, and a book about the case is at the printer's and should be available in December. Amnesty International, the prestigious human rights organization, has cited Peltier's case in their annual report which pointed to allegations that the FBI had threatened witnesses, produced false evidence, and infiltrated defense teams in their efforts to obtain a conviction. The result is that Peltier is the most famous American Indian political prisoner in the United States.

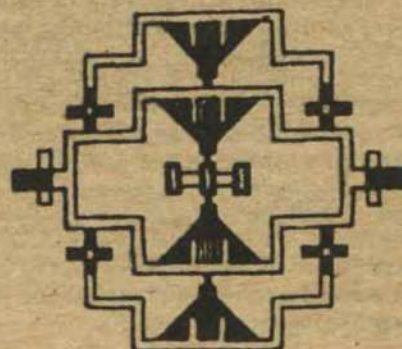
On April 20 Peltier's lawyers filed a motion for a new trial based on the discovery of new evidence. The new evidence emerged as a result of a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit which has been in the courts for several years. This lawsuit allegedly produced documents which show that an FBI agent lied when he said he saw Leonard Peltier at the scene through a rifle telescope.

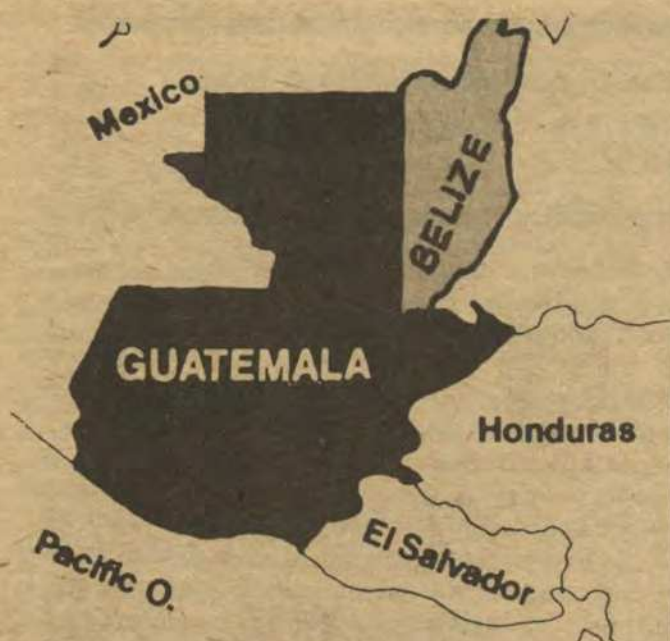
Other documents are said to contain proof that a technician lied about test results on a cartridge which was supposedly found in the trunk of a car and which test results linked Peltier to a weapon supposedly used in the shootings. Other documents reportedly show that FBI agents lied when they testified that they followed a van fitting the description of Peltier's van to the Two Bulls on the fateful day and indicate that they were in fact following a jeep or pickup truck.

There are said to be documents which indicate that many suspects were not investigated and that the FBI singled out Peltier because of his AIM involvement.

It is further alleged that documents exist which prove that prosecutor Evan Haltman lied during oral argument at Peltier's appeal when he said that he had nothing to do with the Myrtle Poor Bear affidavits which were used in the proceedings which resulted in Peltier's extradition from Canada. Poor Bear provided three affidavits at the time, two of which accused Peltier of involvement in the shootings and a third which contradicted those two. Documents released under the FOIA suit allegedly show that Haltman decided which affidavits to submit to Canada.

The motion for a new trial was submitted to Judge Bensen's court. Bensen is the same judge who presided over Peltier's original trial. The federal government has until August 6 to respond to the retrial motion.





GUATEMALA

SINCE

THE COUP:

(The following article comes to us through the courtesy of NISGUA (National Network in Solidarity with Guatemala), 1718 20th N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.)

THE MILITARY JUNTA'S ARMY CONTINUES THE MASSACRES OF OUR COMMUNITIES

We, poor Indian and Ladino peasants organized into the Committee for Peasant Unity (CUC), denounce before our people and the peoples of the world the brutal repression which our communities are enduring at the hands of the Military Junta. We want it to be known that since March 23rd, the Junta of generals and colonels has not only continued the policy of massacres and destruction of the former government, but in some areas it has intensified the massacres to levels we have never endured before. The Junta has also invented other even crueler forms of attacking us in its attempt to break our will to struggle. It has disguised its criminal acts with references to God and Human Rights in an attempt to fool some in Guatemala and international public opinion. This is why we want people to know about the horrible reality we are now experiencing in the Guatemalan countryside.

The Massacres of the Military Junta

Far from stopping the massacres, since March 23rd the Junta's Army has continued and actually increased them. The Army has occupied our communities and has massacred the population in Chimaltenango, Quiche, Solola, Huehuetenango, Alta and Baja Verapaz and other places. More than 3,000 men, women, children and old people have been massacred in the most barbaric way in just a month and a half. They have been tortured, beheaded, or burned alive in their homes by the Junta's soldiers. We have seen how the Army goes into our communities, burns our homes, the corn which is our main staple, destroys or steals our belongings, including clothing or anything valuable, and kills or steals our chickens and hogs.

True genocide has been practiced in the department of Chimaltenango during the last weeks. In Estancia de la Virgen, Chicocon, Chuatalun, Chipila and other villages near San Martin Jilotepeque, the Army murdered more than 250 people during the last week of March and the first two weeks of April. It burned most of the homes, more than a thousand quintales (100 lb. bags) of corn, forcing the surviving families to seek refuge in San Juan Sacatepequez and other villages. On March 26th a group of soldiers dressed as civilians entered the village of Pacoj in the same area, massacring nine complete families and kidnapping three other peasants. On April 25th, the Army entered the village of Varituc, also part of San Martin Jilotepeque, and killed 13 peasants and kidnapped many others.

(In Mid-May, members of the Peasant Unity Committee (CUC) staged a take-over of the Brazilian Embassy in Guatemala City. They demanded access to the media to denounce the increasing number of massacres being committed by the military Junta. Because of tremendous international pressure urging that the lives of these peasants be respected and their statement heard, the members of CUC were able to negotiate a 15-minute press conference. During this conference they explained that their organization was for the defense of peasant rights, and that the military government was massacring peasants throughout the country, burning their crops and forests, destroying their food and animals in a scorched-earth campaign. Following the press conference the CUC representatives were flown to Mexico which granted them political asylum.)

The CUC statement documents the massacre of over 3,000 peasants since the

March 23rd coup and exposes the lie of the Junta's claim that such killings have ceased. It clearly reveals that the repression, particularly aimed at the Indian population, has continued, and explains the role of so-called "civilian militias" in the counterinsurgency campaign.

While the U.S. State Department tries to portray Guatemalan headman Rios Montt as a reformer, fully in control of the army, a New York Times article quotes him saying "I am the one who has the power up to this moment. Within half an hour they can shoot me without any problem." This contrasts sharply with the Reagan Administration's thus far successful effort to present the situation in Guatemala as changed and stable. The recent 18 to 10 vote by the House Foreign Affairs Committee to resume military assistance to Guatemala in the form of \$250,000 in IMET (International Military Education and Training) funds demonstrates the need for solidarity groups to analyze this material and share it with their press and congressional contacts.)

The Terror Intensifies

On April 15th at 7:30 a.m. the Army entered Agual Calientes, San Jose Poaquil, and massacred 23 defenseless peasants, and then pursued and strafed the survivors from a helicopter as they fled into the hills. It burned all the houses in the village. Chitun, a village in Patzun, has also endured criminal incursions by the Army. On April 26th it entered the village, surrounded 20 peasants, including women and children, and burned them alive inside their homes in an act of savagery which has now become common practice. More recently, on May 3rd, 15 peasants were murdered in Parramos, Chimaltenango. The Army tried to hide this massacre by saying that it had been a clash with guerrillas.

Since March 23rd, more than 500 people have been massacred in the villages of Parraxtut, El Pajarito and Pichiquil, in the center of Quiche near Huehuetenango. There are no people left in some of these villages. Those who have survived the Army's massacres have emigrated or are in hiding in the hills enduring all kinds of hardship.

Between the 3rd and 5th of April, the Army attacked the people of Cajul in Northern Quiche with a vengeance. It entered the villages of Chel, Jua and Armachel waving the national flag and promising peace. But after a few hours the soldiers began to massacre. In one of the villages the Army forced the entire population into the courthouse, raped the women, beheaded the men and threw the children against rocks in a nearby river. In Chel the Army burned homes and murdered all the peasants they could find. In the village of Mangal it murdered 100 people, and in a farm called Covadonga 35 men who were unable to escape were massacred.

In Quiche massacres have been taking place without interruption since last October. Nothing has changed with

the new government. On April 15th, the Army attacked the village of Seneja in Chichicastenango. Twenty villagers were tied to the poles in their houses and burned alive. That same day in the village of Chacorales, Santa Cruz Quiche, another Army patrol beheaded nine peasants, among them a 9-year old girl, while the family was praying. These are the Junta's Christian values.

The Junta's Army invaded the municipality of Concepcion Solola during Holy Week. On Good Friday, April 2nd, some 250 soldiers and members of paramilitary bands armed with heavy machine guns entered the village El Adelanto, Pujujil. Although most of the population managed to escape, the Army kidnaped 10 women and took them and their children to two houses. Here they were forced to feed the troops, while the houses were surrounded with dry pine, straw, and leaves. When the soldiers finished eating, they machine-gunned the women and children, and then set fire to the houses with the bodies inside. The soldiers returned on April 15th to machine-gun and cut up with machetes 29 more people: 15 women, 5 men and 9 children between 6 months and 1 year old. Survivors found a 9-months old child cut up with a machete with his mother's nipple still in his mouth. The troops also burned 127 houses, all the corn, beans, wheat, clothing and sandals, the corn mill and the store, and took all the livestock and money.

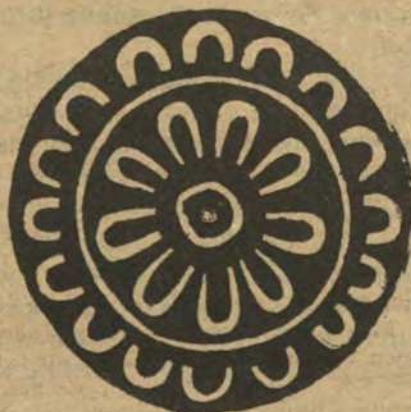
All the homes in the village of Sacalatji, Crumax, San Isidro and Samuc of Coban, Alta Verapaz were burned by the Junta's troops in March 24th. The villages of Las Pacayas, Cisiran, El Rancho, Quixal, Chiyuc and others in the San Cristobal Verapaz were bombed from armed helicopters between the 24th and 27th of March. One hundred people were killed. Entire families were murdered in Chiantla, Huehuetenango. Two children ages 4 and 6 were murdered along with their parents in the village of San Nicolas on April 22nd.

In Baja Verapaz, San Marcos, Sacatepequez, Quezaltenango, Totonicapan and the entire southern coast the assassinations and kidnappings have continued without interruption.

The Repression Takes on New Faces

This is the kind of repression we have experienced since the change of government. Not only are we enduring assassinations and kidnappings, having our homes burned and our few belongings stolen. We are now the victims of true genocide, directed at eliminating our villages, and specifically the Indian population, so that the generals and the rich can live in peace without having us around to demand our rights.

Now the Army has added a new trick: it presents the massacres as confrontations between guerrillas and alleged civil patrols, to make it seem as if peasants on both sides are dying. This was done in Chinique, El Quiche, where soldiers dressed as civilians killed 55 people between March 30th and April 2nd. These civil defense patrols are nothing more than paramilitary bands led by soldiers and local military commissioners and spies. In many areas the Army has forced all of us to participate in these bands, telling us that if we refuse we will be killed as subversives, and that it will burn everything. The Army has offered the patrols the lands, harvest, belongings and even the women of the peasants it massacres. In this way the Army is trying



to force the poor to confront the poor, taking advantage of our poverty and the terror it has imposed. It wants to force us to serve as cannon fodder, and to massacre our class and blood brothers and sisters.

As part of the same campaign the Army has organized forced concentrations of people, just as the previous government did, only now they pretend these are meetings of civil patrols. Thus in Nebaj and Chajul the Army forced all the people who did not manage to escape into the hills to get together and memorize slogans favorable to the government. Soldiers dressed as civilians were placed among us to control us. Those who don't cry out the government slogans are killed later. This is how the Army is feigning popular support for the Junta. Journalists and U.S. Army people committed to sending weapons and aid to finance more aggression against our people are invited to these farces.

The Army has also stepped up its civic action programs in our villages and towns. But these programs do not resolve the problems of lack of land, good working conditions, health and education we have because of the exploitation we suffer from and because of the Army's occupation. They are just another way of placing spies in our communities.

Assassination by Starvation — Another Tactic of the Military Junta

Faced with the situation of terror forced upon us by the Army and its paramilitary bands, the majority of the Indian peasants have organized ourselves to seek refuge in the forests and mountains when the Army approaches. Thus we have avoided even greater massacres. We carry as much food as possible as well as all the children to protect them from cruelly being killed by the Army. We have learned through experience to hide small quantities of food, clothing, pots and pans and other utensils to be able to survive until the soldiers leave the area. The murderous army, however, is not satisfied with burning and destroying everything it finds in the villages, but seeks to destroy hidden reserves and presents them to the press as "guerilla scratches." The Army machine-guns and bombs the mountains to deprive us of refuge and has begun to burn the forests. Then it presents the fires as natural forest fires or as being started by the guerrillas. We know that the goal of the Army is to force us to come into the open so they can



Photo credit: Jerome Liebling



"Thus at a time when we should have been planting our corn, in some places we have not been able to clean the burned or abandoned plots. In other places we are planting in secret or at night. Consequently, this year's crop is bound to be poor and our families will suffer even more from hunger. This is how the military Junta's Army is decimating our population — killing us by starvation little by little."

kill us. Half of the forests in Chichicastenango have been destroyed by fire so far this year, depriving us of wood for cooking and destroying the natural resources which could help us to survive in the future.

Those of us who remain hidden in the mountains are suffering the worst hardship. We have no food and in some places we survive by eating roots and plants. The Army has depleted our corn reserves which had to last us until the end of the year's crop. We are sharing the very little that has not been burned, but there are too many mouths to be fed for such little quantities of food. We have no houses, we are suffering from hunger and cold weather, our children are dying of malnutrition and of illnesses. There are already many cases of chicken-pox and influenza. With the beginning of the rainy season the situation is bound to deteriorate, especially for the children and the elderly. We are afraid of widespread epidemics. All of this is caused by the Army's occupation of our towns and villages.

Many of us, who year after year had gone down to large plantations on the south coast to earn a few extra pennies picking cotton, sugar cane, or coffee, were not able to do so this year for fear of being assassinated for the very simple reason of being poor Indians coming from certain municipalities or neighborhoods, especially Huehuetenango. The Army and the paramilitary bands at the service of the landowners label us as subversives and murder us. The same thing happens to those of us who had small stores and businesses in other localities and in the capital. We have been forced to abandon those businesses because "informers" of the Army have come all the way to the city and singled out people from certain towns and villages. These people are later assassinated. Such was the case of two members of the Lainez family from the village La Estancia, El Quiché, who were assassinated on April 27th by the government's forces in the heart of Guatemala City after having fled their village because of the Army's im-

posed terror. Our people are persecuted even when they leave the country by bands of army soldiers dressed as civilians who go across the border into Mexican territory to assassinate refugees and Mexicans who are helping them. In this way possibilities of maintaining our families are gradually closed for us.

Those among us who have stayed in our Army-occupied towns are going to endure the worst hunger this year because the Army does not allow us to plant. Anyone found on the roads and in the workfields is labeled as subversive and then killed. Thus at the time when we should have been planting our corn, in some places we have not even been able to clean the burned or abandoned plots. In other places, we are planting in secret or at night. Consequently this year's crop is bound to be poor and our families will suffer even more from hunger. This is how the Military Junta's Army is decimating our population — killing us by starvation little by little.

Neither the Repression Nor the Lies Are Going to Stop Our Struggle

For hundreds of years, our indigenous peoples have been struggling and resisting the armies which have tried to break our spirit. We will continue struggling so that Guatemala can have a government which protects the interests of the poor and the workers; a government which will not continue to favor only the interests of the very rich and of the high-ranking military officers, a government which will promote a decent livelihood for all the peasants and all the poor with land, credits, education, decent housing, and health. We will continue to struggle for a government of our own in which Indians as well as Ladinos can participate and in which all the patriotic, popular and democratic sectors will have a voice, a government under which the Army will be used to defend our sovereignty and

not to massacre and to steal. A government under which our lives, our culture, our own identity, and our religion will be respected and not trampled on as they are now by a regime that represses and discriminates against us, burns our Temples, kills our Priests and Catechists, and assassinates us just for the simple fact of being part of the poor indigenous people.

In the face of such brutal repression at the hands of the criminal Junta, we ask for the broadest, national and international solidarity with the peasants of Guatemala, especially with the Indians. We ask for voices to be raised all over Guatemala and the world demanding that the murderous Army of the military Junta get out of our communities, that these crimes of the military Junta be denounced everywhere, so that no one is fooled by its false promises and demagoguery which are only being used to improve the image of the government so that it can get more money and more arms to slaughter us.

We call upon the North American people and the rest of the peoples of the world to use all their strength to prevent the U.S. government from giving more military assistance to this Junta of Generals and Colonels. We especially call upon the Congress of the United States not to supply the Junta with more helicopters, planes, weapons, and money since these will only be used to continue slaughtering us and will not bring any benefit to our people, but only the danger of a greater and more terrible war in Central America.

More than anything else, we want our people and the people of the world to give their total support to our just struggle to end once and for all the repression, exploitation, and discrimination which we are suffering, so that we may provide for ourselves the government that we want, and to build a new Guatemala of peace and hope for our children.

THE WOMEN WHO FIGHT

Guatemala Indian Woman's Story

(Following is an eyewitness account of Guatemalan army operations against the civilian population. The speaker is an Indian woman living in the embattled El Quiche region; her story was recorded recently in Guatemala by correspondent Christine Piotter -Reprinted with permission from The Guardian-ED.)

Quiche, Guatemala

Special to the Guardian

I can tell you a little about what I lived through in the village of Chichicastenango, in the region of Quiche.

Starting on Nov. 18, we heard rumors that the army was going around to nearby villages, massacring the people and burning houses and everything that was planted. We also heard that in several villages near the road they burned many small farms, especially in Chumanzana and in Chupol. From what people told us, in Chumanzana the army burned 15 farms. In the Chupol area that day the army burned 30 farm settlements, including three drug stores and two general stores.

Afterward, they went into Chujumilon, where they burned 15 houses, and 25 houses in Chuhuecha. So all these people ended up in the streets, you might say, with only the clothes on their backs, without food, many of them with little children, and they couldn't even feed their children.

The days were passing and we could hear bombs falling on villages in the nearby area. And we could hear them shooting at the people from helicopters that had machine guns.

One of these helicopters was blue and white and there was another one that was red. But we could see that they shot from high up in the air. They were afraid to fly low and shoot because



there was a group of young people who belonged to the guerrilla; they started to shoot up into air, at the helicopters, to defend the villagers.

The people were hoping that those young people would help them because they were without weapons. The only things the people of the village had were firework bombs that they used in fiestas. They put them along the road and set them off. This frightened the army and slowed them down a little.

After all that, the people went to the villages which seemed a little safer than those that were near the road. Again the days passed by and the army was furious because it couldn't go into the villages on foot; the people, even though unarmed, had laid some traps around their fields and their houses to defend themselves. A few groups of soldiers tried to go into these villages. The only thing that happened was that they fell into the traps and died.

People who were coming from Chupol told us that in the plaza in Chupol there were cannons and they were shooting from there. The

cannons were shooting some very big things, much bigger than bullets or grenades. We also learned from then that the soldiers had the roads closed off. Nobody could come or go. All the roads that went to the highway to get a bus to go to the capital or anyplace else were completely closed off, and full of soldiers.

Every day we heard the planes and helicopters passing above us. Over our heads they were firing grenades; they were shooting at us with machine guns.

And then we couldn't do anything else but flee to wherever we could, even under trees, to escape the bullets. We started to make great efforts to protect ourselves, to get ourselves into safe places. Every time a helicopter passed by, we had to run and jump into these holes. It was the only place where we felt like the grenades weren't falling right on top of us.

The days were passing. Around Nov. 28, we already felt like everything was closing in on us. The people passing by told us that the number of soldiers on the highways was getting larger. And we also started to hear that the people in the area of Chimaltenango were starving to death, especially the children, because they had already been surrounded by the army for 15 days and nobody could come or go.

EATING UNCOOKED CORN

They said that the little children didn't have anything to eat anymore because the army burned down all the nearby stores. They didn't have anything except ears of corn that weren't ripe yet. They couldn't build fires because that would have given away the people's hideouts in the hills and the forest. So they could only roast them part way, and this nearly raw food gave almost everyone diarrhea, nausea, and intestinal infections.

Others had to hunt for leaves and roots and eat them or the little bit of food they found. All of this made their situation worse. The worse thing was that then it started to rain a lot; and it was the season when it gets very cold in that area.

The people were hiding in their places, wet; the children were crying from the cold, and there wasn't dry clothing to change into because the soldiers had burned all the clothing with the house. So the ones that didn't die of intestinal infections died of pneumonia, especially the children and old people. There were also wounded people.

They sent us a message, asking for medicine or for whatever we had to share with them. We were very afraid because we saw that the moment was near when we would have to live through the same thing.

On Nov. 29, we started to hear shots in the air very close by. We were alarmed because in the village that we were in there were a great number of refugees from Chupol, Pajuliboy and other villages that have been burned to the ground.

On Nov. 30 at dawn, we were told that the army was near some houses that were near our village. The people who were hiding in the woods moved farther and farther into the woods until they came to our village. Then we were very crowded. So we had to take care of the wounded first, then the children, and then the old people. We suffered a lot, since we didn't have enough food.

That's how the first of December came. At dawn we heard shots and cannonballs from far away, shooting at us. We also heard that there were a large number of small trucks all around

"...With horror we saw that all the soldiers were coming behind us, throwing grenades and shooting with machine guns... We were seeing people with their heads smashed open, their arms and legs dangling..."

us. When we heard that the army had entered the village and had killed some people who were guarding the entrance, we couldn't do anything else but leave - everybody - in any way possible.

At 10 in the morning all the women and children left and they started to cry. A group of young people who belonged to the guerrillas helped us to organize the departure and calmed us down and told us to trust them, that they would help us.

We immediately followed their instructions: first women and children left, carrying the wounded when it was possible. So our trek began, quite calmly. At about 11, when we thought we were already safe inside the woods, we heard the helicopters coming closer; they surrounded us. The children — like children are — were very restless. That's how they found out that we were there. So they started — in less than five minutes — to bomb us, to shoot us. And — I don't know how — suddenly there were small planes that flew very low. They dropped bombs on us. So we started running deeper into the woods. The children started to scream and run. The women called their children, because they were getting lost. They couldn't find them. And it was a race! We were running, running, running, throwing ourselves down on the ground — a cloud of dust, of dirt, all wounded in the woods; we were going to be smashed any minute.

SMALLEST FELL BEHIND

Some women ran back when they saw that their little ones weren't with them. The mothers called their children; the children screamed back, calling their mothers. Only the children they carried on their backs were safe. The worst off were the ones who were 4-, 5-, or 6-year-olds and could already run by themselves. They were the ones that fell behind. That's why many women desperately ran back to get them.



But with horror we saw that all the soldiers were coming behind us, throwing grenades and shooting with machine guns. Many of the women who ran back fell, hit by these bullets. We couldn't go back to see if they were dead or only wounded, because it was impossible; those hundreds and hundreds of people of the village ran and ran, desperately.

We ran for about six hours. We were seeing people with their heads totally smashed open, their hands ripped off, their arms and legs dangling, many of them broken.

(She continued with a broken voice.) Our situation was very hard. Now you can imagine what all these people suffered. We rested a little, washed the wounds in the rivers that were quite dirty because it was raining a lot in those days. And we could see that some of the wounds weren't that bad, but others were. All we could do was to comfort each other.

SEARCH FOR SAFE PLACE

At dawn we continued walking, looking for a place to stay in safety. We arrived the next night in a village where the owners of the houses let us in, helped us and comforted us. They told us with a lot of anger that they'd also heard the bombings and that it was unfair what they were doing to us.

A few months back, these villagers had lived through the same thing, but the soldiers didn't burn their houses or their plantings. They just had kidnaped people. So we spent some time there, resting, eating. Then we did everything possible to leave the area, because with too many people there, the same would happen to all of us in this village.

After that, the soldiers came to tell us, "Go back to your houses." We asked them, "What houses?" They told us, "We will protect you; don't let yourselves get fooled by the guerrillas." Well, we saw that it was the army that was destroying us. The people who were helping us save our lives were the guerrillas.

We wanted to hear all the news on the radio, if they were going to say what happened to us. But they didn't say anything. All they said was that the soldiers had fought the guerrillas, and that they had killed many. But it wasn't the guerrillas who had died; it was the people of the village.



In Defense of Native Peoples

These days the threats to Native Peoples are intensifying once again. Like the many threatened animal species, Native peoples are being decimated by the insatiable demands for Energy of an over-industrialized Western society. Many small (and some not-so-small) nations are desperately fighting for survival: for cultural, economic, social and territorial integrity. The rights of Native communities are under constant attack.

It is against this background that the work of the Emergency response International Network (E.R.I.N.) was initiated a few years ago by a group of Editors from AKWESASNE NOTES. E.R.I.N. was conceived as a way of mobilizing public opinion to defend the rights of threatened communities.

TO Emergency Response International Network
c/o Akwesasne Notes
via Roosevelttown, NY 13683

YES! I support the work of the Emergency Response International Network. I want to become a:

- ...Regular member - \$10
- ...Sustaining member - \$25
- ...Organization - \$50
- ...Sustaining organization - \$1,000
- ...Lifetime Patron - \$5,000

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NATIVE CHILD

CHILDRENS' MARCH FOR PEACE

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Children from all over the world will be meeting in New York City on June 7, 1982 to show the world that they believe there should be peace in the world and that nuclear disarmament is necessary.

The Akwesasne Freedom School's 5th and 6th grades and high school are studying nuclear disarmament. One of the teachers recently spoke to the students and I would like to share portions of his talk with you.

Teacher: "Do you know what disarmament means? The word 'arms' is used to describe weapons such as rifles, cannons, tanks, machine guns, missiles, and nuclear bombs. 'Disarm' means to do away with arms. 'Disarmament' means to do away with or greatly reduce the number of weapons of war.

"The military people around the world, especially the United States, France, Germany, Russia, England, and China, want more money for nuclear weapons. At the same time, there are people starving and old people who are not being taken care of — and that's wrong. The governments use money for weapons instead of taking care of people who need help.

"The Disarmament Movement is a large group of people from all over the world who want to see peace in the world. If the young people of the world make your voice heard maybe you can stop the possibility of World War III.

"The Great Law of the Iroquois, which began with the teachings of the Peacemaker, has much to teach the world about how nations can live in peace. The Peacemaker came at a time when the people were at war and his message urged our nations to put away the weapons of war and to use our power of reason to settle our disputes.

He was the first disarmament activist. What did he teach the people to do with the weapons of war?

Student: "The Peacemaker buried the weapons under the Tree of Peace."

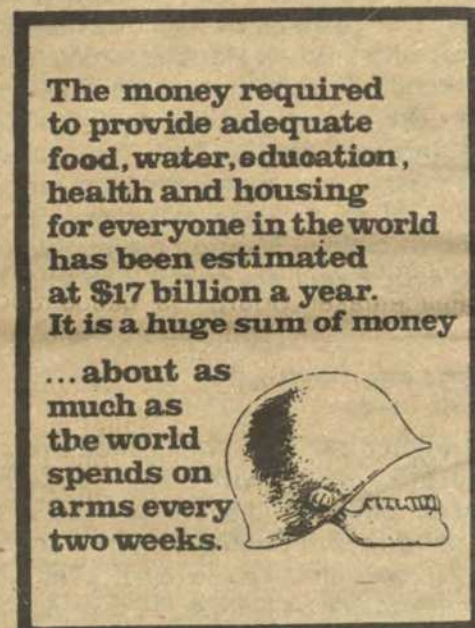
"That's right. He is the first example for all of us who want peace in the world. We have the power of reason. We can talk. We can negotiate, we can compromise to keep peace. When you keep peace you are following the way of the Creator; you are helping the world, you are helping the future generations.

"Disarmament is what the Peacemaker did. He talked to all the Nations who were making war and he taught them the power of reason. By reasoning, by explaining ourselves to each other, we can create a council of people who can make peace. That's how he created the chiefs councils. You won't see the chiefs fighting each other in council. They talk and reason with each other to keep peace.

"All of us can be striving for peace. When you go out on the playground you can punch each other, or you can keep the peace. The military people have the same power to either reason or to push a button which will send bombs to destroy people.

"When you are in the garden you will see that the corn, beans and squash don't fight each other, they help each other. If they fought each other they would never grow. So they cooperate with each other. If the peoples of the world followed the basic message of the Peacemaker everyone could grow. Every culture of the world has something to say about peace."

The class discussed the following cartoon.



From The Spectrum, December 1981, Vol 4 #11

"Do you think the governments should spend more money on people than on weapons?"

Class: "Yes."

If we look at our government of the Mohawk Nation, we will find that we spend 100 percent of our money on the people. You can tell people that your nation does not spend any money on weapons. We are a small nation. Maybe we should be more afraid of the big nations like the United States. The U.S. spends more money than any other country in the world on weapons, although many nations spend more than they can afford.

"The nuclear industry affects Native peoples all over the world because the uranium which they use to make nuclear weapons is taken from mines in the Indian country. Some Native peoples are dying of cancers from working in those mines.



NAVAJO PEACEMAKER COURT

NAVAJO JUDGES FOLLOW TRADI-
TION — MODERN TRENDS

(The following article describes an innovative court system combining traditional Navajo law and modern court systems to empower the people to control dispute settlements within their own community. It is an approach which has been needed for a long time. Although it is still in its infancy we bring you this article and we will update the system as it develops. -Ed.)

Window Rock, Arizona
Navajo Nation
April 1982

The judges of the Navajo Tribal Courts have announced the creation of a new court within the Navajo justice system. The new court, called the "Peacemaker Court," is based upon Navajo traditional law and current American legal trends in arbitration and mediation.

In announcing the action of the Navajo judges to create the new court, Chief Justice Nelson J. McCabe said, "We have long had a system where a judge would appoint an elder or respected leader in a community to work with individuals who are having problems. In recent years that system has become forgotten, and we have revived it in a way we hope will work for the years to come."

Under the Peacemaker Court system a Navajo judge will appoint a community leader as a "peacemaker" to sit down with people having a dispute and get them to work out their problems. This method of handling disputes is very old among the Navajo, and it has now been combined with modern legal concepts. Traditionally Navajo elders could only "mediate" disputes or try to get the people having a disagreement to come to an agreement to resolve them. While this system is retained in the Peacemaker Court, the Navajo peacemaker will also be able to "arbitrate," or make a decision resolving a dispute, where the parties agree.

The earlier precursor of this system was probably that of the local *Naat'aanii*, or headman, who did not have the coercive powers of a political leader but who was a person of high prestige and eloquence, governing by persuasion.

Therefore the Peacemaker Court is but a revival of a very old Navajo leadership form, now restricted solely to dispute resolution.

Unlike the persuasive limits on the early *Naat'aanii* the peacemaker here will have the authority to compel or force people to work with him or her. One prosecutor interviewed on the proposed rule indicated he had experience

with referrals to counsellors and chapter leaders but he felt they were largely unsuccessful due to the inability to force people to cooperate. This system will provide the necessary coercive power to make it work.

Judge Homer Bluehouse, who is acknowledged to be one of the Navajo judges who is most familiar with traditional ways, argued for modern protections of the civil rights of people in the new court. "There were problems with the old method because people would be bullied, threatened and even assaulted at times. I think this is a good idea and one acceptable to the Navajo People, but I am glad the new court rules will have the means for individuals to seek the protection of a judge where the system is abused. As the appointed judges of the Navajo Nation we must not give up our duty to protect everyone who comes within the court system."

Judge Tom Tso of the Window Rock District Court argues in favor of the revitalized system. "We have a good court system for the people to use," he said, "but we have to provide a means for people to take care of their everyday problems in their own community, helped by their own community leaders. People cannot afford to hire lawyers for small matters, and for small community problems it will be better for them to be able to turn to their own to take care of those problems."

The Peacemaker Court will be operated by community leaders in the chapters, a form of local Navajo government. The Navajo judges will supervise the operations of the peacemakers, and the court rules which were developed for the system reflect the emphasis on their use in local areas. There are two versions of the rules which carry the same weight, and one version is in "plain language," or or-

dinary English. These rules will be explained to the Navajo people in workshops because the majority of the people speak Navajo.

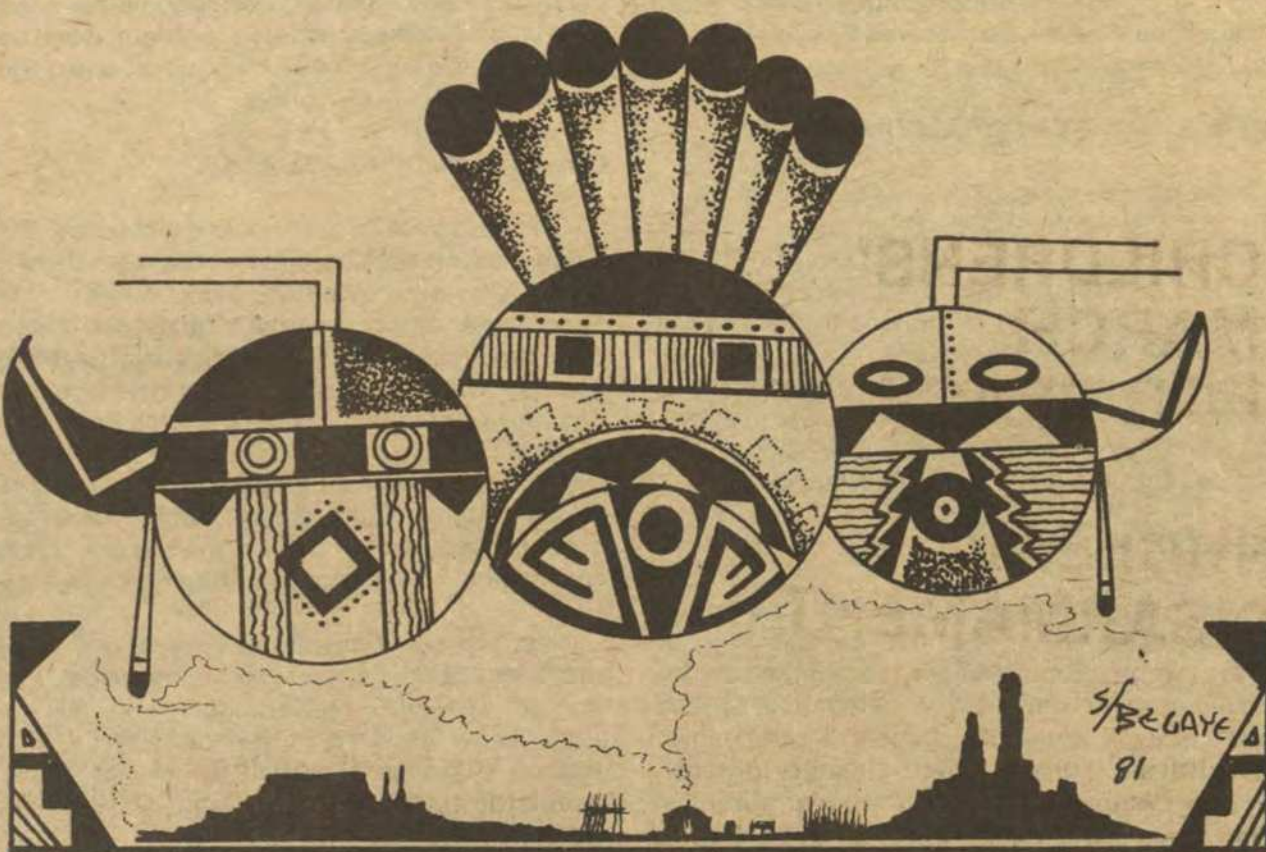
The new system was developed by the Navajo court staff after lengthy discussions among the Navajo judges, and James Zion, the Solicitor or lawyer for the Navajo courts explained, "I carried out the judges' instructions for the new Peacemaker Court by interviewing the judges and community people who knew of the old system, researching Navajo tradition and finding the best aspects of arbitration, mediation and court review in order to reinforce the traditional way. The system, as it is put on paper, is essentially Navajo, and it shows that the Navajo knew about and used the concepts of arbitration and mediation long before they became popular in the United States as a means of avoiding the expense, time and bitterness of court litigation."

The rule will take effect immediately and the Peacemaker Court system will be monitored by the Navajo judges to see what improvements or changes might be needed to be made to make the system successful and permanent.

WHAT THE PEACEMAKER COURT DOES

A judge will assign a case to the peacemaker from a community, and have that person work to take care of problems between people. Some of the problems a peacemaker may be assigned include, but are not limited, to the following:

1. Martial dispute and disputes involving family strife;
2. Disputes among parents and children;
3. Minor disputes between neighbors as to community problems such as nuisances, animal trespass or annoyance, disorderly conduct, breaches of the peace and like matters;
4. Alcohol use or abuse by family members or neighbors;
5. Sexual misconduct;
6. Conduct causing harm, annoyance or disunity in the immediate community and chapter;



7. Minor community business transactions of a sum of \$1,500 or less;

8. Any other matter which the District Court finds should or can be resolved through the use of the Peacemaker Court.

PEACEMAKER COURT IS COMPULSORY

When the judge says people have to take part in the Peacemaker Court because they are causing problems, know things which should be told or because they are a part of the problem, all Navajo and all Indians living with the Navajo must obey the judge.

Lawyers are forbidden in Peacemaker Court with the exception of some protective proceedings in District Court or assisting in obtaining judgments following peacemaking.

SELECTION OF PEACEMAKERS

To be a peacemaker, a man or woman, must be respected where they live, be able to work with the chapter members, and be known for being straight, honest, human and able to take care of local problems. People who belong to the Navajo Tribal Council, Chapter officers, Native American Church chapter officers, medicine men and people who belong to groups which people who have problems respect, can be peacemakers. The local chapter chooses the people who will be peacemakers. If the chapter doesn't pick someone the judge can pick someone to be a peacemaker. People who are having problems can pick anyone to be a peacemaker when everyone involved agrees on who the peacemaker should be. This person doesn't have to be Navajo or Indian, but everyone involved has to agree on it.

WHAT THE PEACEMAKER CAN DO

Peacemakers can sit down with people and try to get them to agree on what their problems are and how those problems are hurting them, and then try to get them to agree on what they should do to take care of those problems. The peacemaker gets people talking and uses his knowledge of traditional ways to get the people to take care of their own problems by agreeing on how to solve it.

Peacemakers can use the traditional Navajo beliefs and old ways to take care of the problems of people in their community.

Peacemakers can teach or lecture people by telling them traditional ways which have been used to take care of the problem.

Peacemakers can compel persons involved in a dispute or affected by it, or in any way connected with it, to meet to discuss the problem being worked on and to participate in all necessary peacemaking efforts.

Peacemakers can use any reasonable means to obtain the peaceful, cooperative and voluntary resolutions of a dispute. No force, violence, or violation of rights secured to individuals by the Navajo Bill of Rights will be permitted. Anyone can be brought before the Peacemaker Court by a subpoena.

LIMITATIONS OF PEACEMAKERS

The peacemaker is not a judge, and he or she can't decide things and then tell people what to do. If everyone who is part of a problem gets together and agrees that the peacemaker can make a decision for them, then he or she can do

it. This is done by agreeing to do it in writing, or by going before the judge and telling the judge about their agreement. When people have the peacemaker make a decision for them, it will be just like a decision made by a judge, when the judge approves it in writing.

OBLIGATION OF PEACEMAKER

The peacemaker who is appointed by the judge must let the court know within ten days if he or she can take the assignment. The peacemaker must contact all the people involved in the problem and set up meetings with the people. The peacemaker must work to get the people to agree on solving the problem using methods the people in the community accept. If the people involved in the problem have a particular religion such as the Native American Church, the Catholic Church, the L.D.S. church, etc., then the beliefs of that religion can be used.

When the peacemaker is finished, or if he or she finds out the people won't agree or can't be worked with, the peacemaker must let the judge know about it. This can be done in writing or, if it is approved by the judge, the report can be oral and the judge or clerk can write the report down.

If the parties come to a mediated or arbitrated agreement on their problems and want a formal court judgment on it for the record, they can informally and easily obtain one.



CONCLUSION

Albert Ross, a active community leader in Window Rock, says the success rate in resolving dispute has been over 90 percent. In some cases it has been necessary to implement a waiver of the \$30 fee for use of the Peacemaker Court. Mr. Ross says the Peacemaker Court is well respected in the community. He stresses the importance of the peacemaker being able to communicate across the generation gap, as well as being able to communicate across the "old ways" and the "modern" world in settling disputes. He emphasized that the peacemakers are taking in-depth time to deal with cases and the council with people.

The Peacemaker Court rules have been greeted with enthusiasm, and now we will see how they work in practice. They are a combination of traditional methods of dispute resolution, and they will provide for small claims procedures. All the proceedings will take place in the Navajo chapters using chapter leaders. Hopefully the rules will be a sign of judicial recognition of community needs and a true fulfillment of the peoples' expectations.

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(602) 871-4137



LAND CLAIMS ACT SUPPORTED BY JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

The Ancient Indian Land Claims Settlement Act proposed by Rep. Gary Lee (R., N.Y.) and Sen. D'Amato (R., N.Y.) has received support from the U.S. Dept. of Justice's Office of Legislative Affairs. In a report addressed to the Office of Management and Budget's David Stockman, the Justice Department concluded that the AILCSA would "probably be constitutional." Their report hedges in analyzing the possible results of court challenges to the Act, but generally expresses political support for the idea.

Meanwhile, Assemblyman Maurice Hinchey has submitted a resolution in opposition to the bill to the New York Assembly. And an April 22, 1982 open letter from the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus stated in part:

"The Indian rights extinguished [by this bill] would include all Indian legal claims for loss of land, minerals, and other natural resources, and for trespass and waste. It would also extinguish Indian water rights and hunting and fishing rights on Indian-claimed land now in the possession of non-Indians. All Indian claims to land in New York and South Carolina would be summarily wiped out.

"This bill is not an act of eminent domain for public purpose; by closing the courts to Indian claims it violates due process. This bill is aimed solely at taking land rights away from Indians for the benefit of others; as such, it is discriminatory and denies equal protection of the law. This bill would eradicate ratified treaties and violate the principle established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act; in so doing it would violate fundamental human rights of Indian peoples."

The U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will hold a hearing to take testimony on this Act on June 22, 1982.

BOOKS



HISTORICAL

APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS, by Edmund Wilson. A realist's view of Iroquois communities in the 1960s, with some reflection on the past. Paperback, \$2.95.

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS, by Vine Deloria. Paperback, \$1.75.

INVASION OF AMERICA, by Francis Jennings. Excellent work on Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest. \$4.95.

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS, by Cadwallader Colden. \$2.95.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS, by Arthur Parker. Valuable reference work. Hardcover only. \$12.95.

7 GENERATIONS, by D. Blanchard. The history of the Mohawk people at Caughnawaga. Created for use as a textbook by the Caughnawaga survival School. \$19.50.

LEGAL

NATIVE RIGHTS IN CANADA, by Cumming and Mickenberg. To provide Native peoples of Canada and their legal advisors with the necessary comprehensive treatise on the law of aboriginal rights. \$8.95.

CHILDREN'S

CHEER UP OLD MAN, by David Martinson. A story of an old man with a warm heart. Excellent for children. \$1.25.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN COLORING BOOK, by Paul Kennedy. Designed to show the richness of Indian art. \$1.75.

TALES FROM THE LONGHOUSE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, by Indian children of British Columbia. \$1.95.

THE BIRD IN THE SUGARBUSH. Excellent for young children. \$1.25.

SKILLS & HOW TO

AMERICAN INDIAN NEEDLEPOINT DESIGN, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. Paperback, \$1.50.

AUTHENTIC INDIAN DESIGNS, by Maria Naylor, 700 illustrations. Paperback, \$6.00
CRAFT MANUAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN FOOTWEAR, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. \$2.25.

INDIAN HERBOLOGY OF NORTH AMERICA, by Alma R. Hutchens. \$12.00

INDIAN SIGN LANGUAGE, by William Tomkins, signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. \$1.50.

CONTEMPORARY

IN TOTAL RESISTANCE, statements and Poetry from Leanne Peltier, Standing Deer, and Patricia Garcia. Published by Leonard Peltier Support Group, 70 pgs. \$2.50.

BEHIND THE TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES, by Vine Deloria. An Indian Declaration of Independence. \$5.95

GOD IS RED, by Vine Deloria. Offers an alternative to Christianity through a return to Indian beliefs and concepts. \$6.95.

NATIVE HARVESTS, Recipes and Botanicals of the American Indian, by Barrie Kavasch. \$5.95.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ANNA MAE AQUASH, by Johanna Brand. Anna Mae was a Micmac sister who fought and died for the cause of Indian people. The FBI hounded her, persecuted her, slandered her on purpose and very likely killed her. \$8.95.

PHILOSOPHY

THE WAY, by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. A collection of Native writings for young and old. \$3.95.

THE WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE, by Dr. Paul Wallace. A fine hardcover edition of the classic story of the founding of the Haudosaune (Iroquois) Confederacy. \$7.95.

NEW BOOK

JAMES BAY PROJECT — A RIVER DROWNED BY WATER

by R. Wittenborn and C. Biegert 1981, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, printed in West Germany, written in English and French, 284 pgs., illus.

Wittenborn and Biegert traveled into the James Bay Area interviewing, photographing, and documenting both sides of the issue of the flooding of traditional Cree lands. Their coverage is an intriguing, insightful treatise on one of the most disastrous, genocidal "development" projects to take place in current times.

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TWO FILMS AVAILABLE:

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The League of the Haudenosaunee, established some one thousand years ago, is one of the oldest, continuously functioning governments in the western hemisphere. It is based on a comprehensive and interrelated code of principles and concepts known as the Great Law of Peace. This film explores some of those concepts as it frames a portrait of the contemporary Haudenosaunee peoples -- their professions, schools, organizations -- a synthesis of the old and the new: the essence of survival.

Length: 13 minutes
Sale price: \$250.00
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AKWESASNE: ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

A portrait of an Indian community faced with two choices: survival or assimilation. This film explores the obstacles faced by traditional Mohawk people in their past two years of struggle to establish peace in their territory. A fast-paced film, replete with clear and succinct descriptions of a contemporary Indian community fighting to retain traditional rights.

Length: 28 minutes
Sale price: \$450.00
Rental: \$50.00

Both of these films are in color and may be purchased in 16mm or on video-cassettes.

Rentals are available in 16mm only.

For more information contact:

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